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OF THE

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UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON BOUNDARY BETWEEN VENEZUELA AND BRITISH GUIANA

REPORT

AND

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

OF THE

COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES "TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT UPON THE TRUE DIVISIONAL LINE BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA AND BRITISH GUIANA"

Volume 1

HISTORICAL

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1897

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

To the PRESIDENT.

SIR: Pursuant to the act of Congress, of date December 21, 1895 (29 Stat. L., 1), the undersigned were, on January 1, 1896, appointed "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." Immediately thereafter, and on January 4, we convened at the office of the Secretary of State and organized by the election of David J. Brewer as president and Severo Mallet-Prevost as secretary.

As we had a "name," it seemed necessary also that we have a "local habitation," not merely for the meetings of the Commission and the work of its employees, but also for the collection of maps, books, and papers, and for conferences with all who might be interested in the question. To that end we leased a suite of seven rooms in the fourth story of the Sun Building, No. 1317 F street northwest, and furnished them moderately, yet sufficiently, for the work of the Commission.

We were at the outset confronted with the fact that our work was both novel and difficult; that there were no precedents to guide as to the manner in which the inquiry should be prosecuted, the character or amount of testimony to be

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obtained, or the means by which it should be secured. While the boundary line, whose true location we were called upon to ascertain, was a matter of importance in its ultimate determination to both Venezuela and Great Britain, neither Government was consulted or took part in the creation of the Commission or in the selection of Commissioners. Each of them might have ignored our Commission as the result of a merely voluntary movement on the part of a nation in no way personally interested in the territorial question. Yet we felt that while neither Government was bound by what we should ascertain and report, each might be willing to assist in our work and might be possessed of evidence of great value not easily at least obtainable from other sources. We therefore addressed a communication to the Secretary of State, with the view of its presentation to the two Governments so directly interested. Copies of such communication, with the replies thereto, are attached to this report (Appendix A).

We take pleasure in adding that during the entire life of the Commission each of the two Governments has manifested in a most agreeable and satisfactory manner its desire to help us in our investigations. Every call made upon either has been promptly answered, and there has been an effort to put us in possession of all the facts which either deemed of importance to a satisfactory solution of the question in dispute.

Beyond this, it is fitting also that we mention the fact that individual citizens of this country as well as of others have been alike kindly disposed, proffering and furnishing to us books, maps, pamphlets, and documents of various kinds in

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their possession which seemed to them likely to be of assistance in the determination of the boundary. It has certainly been gratifying to note the general disposition to assist in the work of the Commission as a means evidently believed by all likely to bring about a peaceful and honorable solution of a troublesome question. It would be impossible for us within the limits of this report to name all the individuals and all the offers of assistance; still we desire not only to record the fact of these offers, but also to express our thanks therefor. While for reasons hereafter indicated the final solution of this controversy has been transferred to another tribunal, it is none the less a source of extreme satisfaction that this general interest was manifested in the work, and it is therefore fitting that we should express in this way our gratitude to all who thus facilitated that work.

In making our report, we find it not wholly convenient to pursue a strictly chronological order, but shall endeavor to indicate the lines of our investigations, the extent to which our inquiries have been prosecuted, and the limits which we had reached when our work was interrupted by notice from the State Department.

We were early impressed with the benefit to be derived from the assistance of gentlemen whose recognized eminence in historical and geographical studies justly entitles them to be called experts. We were furnished by Mr. P. Lee Phillips, of the Congressional Library, with a list of some 300 or more maps showing the territory in dispute, and some of them also showing lines of division between the territories of Holland and Spain.

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We applied to Dr. Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard College, one of the leading geographers of the country, for an examination of the various maps and such suggestions as he might make upon the evidence furnished thereby. He visited us at Washington, and after a few days' consultation and discussion it was deemed advisable that he should place in writing his views and suggestions. He accordingly did so, and his report is included among the papers presented herewith (Vol. III).

It was apparent not merely from the information thus obtained, but also from an examination of the maps themselves, that there was great confusion in respect to the lines shown on the several maps.

It was deemed important to make further investigation, to place the maps and charts in groups so far as possible, to trace any connection that there might be between them, and to develop at length the value of the evidence furnished by them as to the line of division. In pursuance of this, our secretary, Mr. Mallet-Prevost, conducted with great care an examination into this subject, and has prepared a report discussing exhaustively all the cartographical evidence. He has succeeded in arranging the maps in classes or groups, shown the historical connection between them, and pointed out the value of the evidence furnished by them. This report will be found in Volume III.

In like manner we secured the services of Prof. John Franklin Jameson, professor of history at Brown University, and Prof. George L. Burr, professor of history at Cornell

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University, recognized authorities in antiquarian researches, who carefully examined certain historical questions and prepared papers which accompany this report. Professor Burr, especially, has been of great service, having given to the Commission a year's labor, part of which was in the examination of original documents in Holland and London. He has been of the utmost assistance in bringing before us the historical evidence bearing upon the fact, time, extent, and significance of the various settlements by the Spaniards and Dutch in and adjacent to the disputed territory. (See their reports, Volume I.)

We were also assisted by Prof. James C. Hanson, of the Wisconsin State University, in the examination of a collection of maps and charts belonging to that institution, and by Dr. De Haan, of Johns Hopkins University, in the matter of translations of Dutch documents and the examination of the archives in Holland. While no formal paper was prepared by either of these gentlemen to be incorporated in our report, their services were none the less of great value and deserve especial mention.

The confusion apparent on the face of the maps, even of the later ones, suggested a general lack of geographical knowledge, and it was deemed important that we should have a map promptly prepared expressing the latest results of all researches and examinations. Accordingly, we applied to the officials in charge of the Geological Survey and of the Hydrographic Office, who promptly placed at our disposal all the material in their possession, and also personally rendered great

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assistance. Mr. Marcus Baker, of the former office, was specially detailed for the work. A preliminary map was soon prepared, and has proved of great value, each of us having a copy thereof constantly by his side during all the reading and examination of books, documents, and other matters.

As this preliminary map had proved of so much value, we deemed it important to accompany our report with a series of maps, which should be as accurate as possible and represent not merely the geographic but the other natural features of the disputed territory. Accordingly, Mr. Baker, assisted by others, has given months of labor to the matter of maps and charts. Some of the maps Professor Burr has transformed into historical charts by noting thereon the various towns, settlements, and posts, with the time of their establishment and the duration of their existence. An inspection of these maps will be found to give both cartographic and historic information of great value.

Not only that. We have had reproduced some of the more important maps and charts of the last three centuries which had been made the objects of examination and criticism by our secretary, and have had them, together with some rare maps and charts collected by Professor Burr and some obtained from the archives at Rome, bound in an atlas, which is one of the volumes we submit as a part of our report. We can not speak too highly of the valuable services of Mr. Baker in this matter, and desire also to express our thanks to the officials of the Geological Survey and the Hydrographic Office for their kindness.

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In the matter of historical investigation there were questions as to the actual settlements, when and where made, by which nation, how long continued, and the acts of dominion exercised in connection with such settlements over contiguous territory. This opened a wide field for investigation. It became necessary to examine many books of travel, historical works supposed to contain more or less information in respect to settlements, other evidences of such settlements, and also all general histories of the two countries. This investigation included an examination into the Spanish settlements on the Orinoco from the time of the first location of the city of Santo Thomé prior to 1600, the Dutch settlements on the Essequibo and the Pomeroon, the Spanish missions east of the Imataca Mountains in portions of the Cuyuni basin, and the temporary establishments of the two nations in various parts of the disputed territory; also the several efforts of the two nations to exercise dominion and control over the Indians residing in these districts, to carry on trade and commerce with those Indians, and the long series of efforts on the part of each to check and destroy the aggressive and what was supposed to be the unwarranted efforts of the other nation to acquire a foothold in the territory.

This investigation imposed on us a large amount of labor. Many books were examined, some of which although in advance supposed to contain information bearing upon the question, were found on perusal to be entirely barren thereof, while others were very instructive. Without attempting an enumeration of the various books examined, we may state in

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a general way that some one of our number, and sometimes all of us separately, read through every book which, either by its title or the suggestions of any person, seemed likely to throw any light upon the questions of settlement, occupation, and territorial dominion. The extent of this work no one not a member of the Commission and not participating in its labors can fully appreciate.

Beyond these historical works and works of travel it was deemed probable that in the diplomatic correspondence between the officials of the two countries, in the reports made by the officials of either colony to the home nation there might be found statements of fact, narrations of events, reports of conferences, which would at least help in reaching a satisfactory conclusion upon the question of occupation, or disclose admissions as to territorial right. In addition to the diplomatic correspondence which had been put into print, we were furnished by the State Department with its bound volumes of such correspondence, all of which bearing directly or indirectly, probably, or possibly upon the question, we had copied for the purposes of examination, and also thereafter carefully examined the same.

The Treaty of Munster, while it contained a confirmation by each nation to the other of the places, etc., of which it was in possession, did not name those places, and did not define the boundary between the possessions of the two nations, nor in terms indicate any rule by which such boundary could be defined; neither, on the other hand, did it provide for any future convention or treaty for the determination of such

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boundary. It seemed possible, if not probable, that there were existing certain international rules generally understood and accepted of sufficient application to settle the true boundary between the possessions of the two nations. Impressed with the conviction that such might have been the thought of the two nations to this convention, we deemed it important to examine and discuss various treatises on international law. This Treaty of Munster, it must be borne in mind, was signed a century and a half after the discovery of America, and at a time when, as is a well-known fact, European nations had established many settlements within the limits of this continent, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that by that time some rules for the delineation of boundary had become recognized, and not improbable that these two nations when confirming to each other their respective possessions had such rules in mind as sufficient to fix the boundaries thereof. In pursuance of this we examined and discussed all the available treatises on international law, from Vattel to the present time, in their bearings upon the question before us. In the course of such examination our attention was directed to the fact that questions of this kind entered into the discussion between the United States and Spain in reference to the settlement of the boundaries between what is now Louisiana and Texas, and also between this country and Great Britain in respect to the boundaries between our northern possessions and British Columbia. We examined at length the correspondence between the representatives of these respective nations concerning these matters, with a view of ascertaining if

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possible the opinions of those nations to some extent interested in this controversy as to the rules for determining questions of boundary.

It was developed by such examination that there are certain rules in respect to the delimitation of boundary which had been generally acquiesced in by all nations, and may be said to have then become a part of international law; other rules whose validity was denied and of which, therefore, it could only be safely said that it is doubtful whether they entered into the thought of the two nations in making this treaty; and still others which were mere claims on the part of one nation or another, and which were so generally denied that it must be assumed that they were not regarded in this treaty.

Before we had proceeded far in our investigation it became obvious that we must extend our inquiry beyond matters that had hitherto passed into print. No treaty had ever been made between the nations which definitely determined the boundary line. While the Treaty of Munster in 1648 confirmed to each the possessions it then had, there was no specification of those possessions and no indication of the territorial limits which attached to the actual settlements. In the diplomatic correspondence there was no attempt at an accurate description of any boundary line. Whatever there was in such correspondence by way of claim on the one side and concession on the other, or claim on the one side without denial on the other, which tended to show that certain places and districts were recognized as belonging to one or the other Government, there was nothing which could be said to approximate an

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agreement as to the true location of the line dividing the territories of the two nations. Neither did the multitude of maps published during the last three centuries disclose any consensus of opinion among cartographers in respect to the divisional line. Books of history and travel were not only lacking in definiteness, but also in many respects conflicting in their statements, many of them supporting such statements by references to unpublished papers and reports. These things combined to make it clear that no satisfactory answer could be given to the question submitted to us without some investigation of original documents; and the proposition was debated whether we should ourselves visit Spain and Holland or send special agents to make examinations of the archives of the two nations and obtain copies of the valuable documents to be found therein.

While debating this question we were advised by the Venezuelan Government that it had caused an examination to be made of the archives in Spain and copies taken of such documents found therein as were supposed to throw light upon the question before us. We were also advised that the British Government was collecting evidence and was preparing to submit to Parliament a book containing the information it had thus acquired. It seemed probable that the collections being made by the two Governments might relieve us from the necessity of personal visit, or of sending special agents, or at least aid materially in determining the line and scope of our own examinations. Hence we delayed action in this direction. The first two volumes of the British Blue Books were placed

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in our hands the latter part of March, and the Venezuelan copies, as translated and printed, were received in June. The latter consisted wholly of Spanish documents. The two volumes of the British Blue Books contained little from the Dutch archives, and while there was some reference to documents found therein, the documents themselves were not quoted. Under these circumstances our pressing duty seemed to be a thorough examination of the archives at Holland. Accordingly, on May 9 Professor Burr left to engage in this work. He remained abroad until October 28, spending his time mainly in Holland, though visiting London for the examination of certain Dutch documents that had been surrendered by Holland to England. He was assisted in this work by Dr. De Haan, and the result of their researches is found in Volume II.

Mr. Coudert, of our Commission, spent several weeks abroad, and also gave his personal attention to this work of examination. Through the kind assistance of Archbishop Corrigan, of New York City, we obtained access to the documents found in the Propaganda at Rome, which contain reports of the missionary establishments in a part of this disputed territory, and which proved of especial value in determining the extent and character of the Spanish occupation. The large collection of documents from the Spanish archives presented by the Venezuelan Government, as well as that found in the British Blue Books, led us to believe that there was no necessity for any further examination of such archives.

In the month of November, Professor Burr having returned

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from Holland, the material which he had collected, the British Blue Books, the Venezuelan documents, and the unprinted evidence which had been furnished by the Venezuelan Government, were all before us together with such information as we had obtained from the Propaganda at Rome and from our examination and perusal of the various books of history, travel, and international law, as well as of the diplomatic correspondence. At that time we received advices from the Secretary of State of the conclusion of negotiations looking to an arbitration of the matter in dispute. Our advices were conveyed in letters of date November 10 and December 28, copies of which are hereto attached. Upon the receipt of these letters we stopped the work of examination and consultation, and since then we have been preparing an atlas and printing the testimony we have collected and the reports of experts. We had hoped to have everything in print and ready to submit before this, but owing to the time required for translation of documents and in securing accuracy in the maps, we have been delayed and are unable to return these publications at the present time. We have thought it wiser to be accurate than swift, but hope within a few weeks to transmit to the State Department the completed work.

Our own publications will consist of four volumes, as follows:

Vol. I. Containing this report and several historical reports.

Vol. II. Documents from the Dutch archives, prepared by Professor Burr, together with certain miscellaneous documents furnished by the Venezuelan Government.

Vol. III. Cartographical reports.

Vol. IV. An atlas comprising seventy-six maps.

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We have also had bound a few copies of the following publications, which have been presented to the Commission for its consideration:

British Blue Books, five volumes.

Venezuelan documents, three volumes.

Historical account furnished by the Venezuelan Government, together with several briefs and arguments.

Before closing this report, it is due to our secretary, Mr. Mallet-Prevost, that we record our appreciation of the great value of his services. He has not only been an admirable secretary in the ordinary sense of the term, but, more than that, a wise counsel and adviser. He has borne the burden of the detail work of the office, and has also assisted in the collection and collation of evidence and shared in our study and examination. His knowledge of the Spanish language and his experience in searching official records have enabled him to render constant assistance, while his untiring industry has largely lessened our own labors.

Of the employees in our office, it is no more than justice to say that they have all proved competent and faithful.

In conclusion, may we not properly advert to the fact that while in consequence of the recent treaty between the two nations specially interested, which treaty was brought about by the active efforts of this Government, our own work has been terminated, the Commission has been a factor of no inconsiderable importance in the solution of the problem. It may be inappropriate for us to enter into any defense of the action of Congress in authorizing its creation, and yet it may not be amiss to notice that at that time there had been developed

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and was existing no little bitterness of feeling between the people of Great Britain and of the United States; talk of war was abundant, and the business interests of both nations were affected prejudicially by the possibilities of conflict. The appointment of the Commission, though it had no absolute power of determining the question at issue, was accepted as affording a means for a full investigation of the question in dispute, and for an ascertainment, by gentlemen impartial and disinterested, of the facts respecting the controverted boundary. The general belief that a full disclosure of the facts in respect to this troublesome question would open the way to some peaceful solution of the dispute promptly allayed the apprehensions of war, and all waited until this Commission should have completed its examination. Not only was this apprehension of conflict allayed, but each nation seemed to feel that the creation of the Commission was equivalent to an invitation to the two contesting nations to appear before the bar of public opinion and make each its showing as to the merits of its claim.

It is not strange that under the influence of this, each nation proceeded not merely to state its contentions, but to examine the various depositories of evidence in Spain, Holland, Rome, London, Georgetown, and Caracas for proof of facts to sustain such contentions; and the many volumes of original matter taken from these depositories which since the appointment of the Commission have been printed have thrown a flood of light upon the question. More than that, as each nation has made thus independently its examination of historical and other facts, it would seem that each has become impressed

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with the conviction that the question is one of such nature as to justify reference to an arbitral tribunal; that there is no such absolute certainty of right on the part of either as to justify a mere forcible assertion thereof, and that the question is really one calling for judicial examination and determination. So a wise and just view of the case is that the Commission has been a potent factor in bringing the two nations into a consent to submit the matter in dispute to an arbitral tribunal. We are not blind to the fact that the air to-day is full of arbitration as a just and proper way to settle international differences, and we can but hope that this Commission has helped to the consummation of such a happy result generally, as well as in respect to this particular dispute. It is also believed that the mass of documents, maps, and reports already referred to which have been collected, sifted, and submitted to critical examination by the Commission will prove to be of great use to the arbitral tribunal, materially abridging their labors and therefore insuring a much more early solution and settlement of the question involved than would otherwise be possible, thus removing all the more speedily and completely a danger which has threatened normal international relations for many years past.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

DAVID J. BREWER.
R. H. ALVEY.
F. R. COUDERT.
DANIEL C. GILMAN.
ANDREW D. WHITE.

FEBRUARY 27, 1897.

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APPENDIX A.

(1.)

OFFICE OF THE
VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 15, 1896.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to state that the Commission appointed by the President of the United States "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana," has organized by the election of the Honorable David J. Brewer as its president, and is entering upon the immediate discharge of its duties.

In so doing it has, after careful consideration, concluded to address you on the question of securing, so far as possible, the friendly cooperation and aid of the two nations which are directly interested in the now pending boundary differences.

It must have suggested itself to you, as it no doubt has to the President, that this Commission, thus authorized to ascertain and report the boundary line between two foreign nations, bears only a remote resemblance to those tribunals of an international character of which we have had several examples in the past. They were constituted by or with the consent of the disputants themselves, and were authorized by the parties immediately concerned to pronounce a final judgment. The questions at issue were presented by the advocates of the various interests, upon whose diligence and skill the tribunal might

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safely rely for all data and the arguments essential to the formation of an intelligent judgment. Their functions were therefore confined to the exercise of judicial powers, and they might fairly expect to reach a result satisfactory to their own consciences, while it commanded the respect of those whose interests were directly involved.

The present Commission, neither by the mode of its appointment nor by the nature of its duties, may be said to belong to tribunals of this character. Its duty will be discharged if it shall diligently and fairly seek to inform the Executive of certain facts touching a large extent of territory in which the United States has no direct interest. Whatever may be the conclusion reached, no territorial aggrandizement nor material gain in any form can accrue to the United States. The sole concern of our Government is the peaceful solution of a controversy between two friendly powers—the just and honorable settlement of the title to disputed territory, and the protection of the United States against any fresh acquisitions in our hemisphere on the part of any European State.

It has seemed proper to the Commission, under these circumstances, to suggest to you the expediency of calling the attention of the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to the appointment of the Commission, and explaining both its nature and object. It may be that they would see a way, entirely consistent with their own sense of international propriety, to give the Commission the aid that it is no doubt in their power to furnish in the way of documentary proof, historical narrative, unpublished archives, or the like. It is scarcely necessary to say that if either should deem it appropriate to designate an agent or attorney, whose duty it would be to see that no such proofs were omitted or overlooked, the Commission would be grateful for such evidence of good will

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and for the valuable results which would be likely to follow therefrom.

Any act of either Government in the direction here suggested might be accompanied by an express reservation as to her claims, and should not be deemed to be an abandonment, or impairment of any position heretofore expressed. In other words, and in lawyers' phrase, each might be willing to act the part of an *amicus curiæ* and to throw light upon difficult and complex questions of fact, which should be examined as carefully as the magnitude of the subject demands. The purposes of the pending investigation are certainly hostile to none, nor can it be of advantage to any that the machinery devised by the Government of the United States to secure the desired information should fail of its purpose.

I have the honor to remain, your most obedient servant,

DAVID J. BREWER,
President.

The Honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE.

(2.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 18, 1896.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 15th instant and to say that I have communicated the views and suggestions therein contained to Her Britannic Majesty's Government and to the Government of the Republic of Venezuela.

Respectfully, yours,

RICHARD OLNEY.

Hon. DAVID J. BREWER,
President Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

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(3.)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,
Washington, February 1, 1896.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note of the 18th ultimo relative to the organization of the Commission appointed by his excellency the President of the United States to examine the true boundary line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana, and to report concerning the result of their examination.

Your excellency refers to various suggestions made in a letter from the Honorable David J. Brewer, the presiding officer of the Commission, concerning the propriety of the parties immediately interested in the matter intrusted to said Commission assisting it by furnishing to it such documentary evidence, historical narratives, and unpublished archives as may be in their possession or at their disposal, and by appointing an agent or attorney to see that such evidence is furnished.

I transmitted a copy of your excellency's aforesaid note to the ministry of foreign relations on the 22d ultimo, and I did so with the more pleasure since the contents of that note are in perfect accord with the voluntary offer which my Government had already made to the Department of State, through this legation, to furnish all the data collected by it relative to its boundary dispute with Great Britain, which offer is the best pledge of the good will with which it should be considered as being prepared to comply with this just desire of the Commission.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

JOSÉ ANDRADE.

His Excellency RICHARD OLNEY,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

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(4.)

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,
Washington, January 9, 1896.

SIR: The ministry of foreign relations of Venezuela has for a long time been collecting ancient documents and maps, with a view to strengthening the title of the Republic to the absolute possession of the territory occupied by Great Britain north and west of the Essequibo, and as the Boundary Commission appointed by his excellency the President may desire, on beginning its work, to have at its disposal the largest possible number of data relative to the case which it is to examine, I have the honor to bring the above circumstance to your excellency's notice, and to inform you that my Government is prepared to send all that long series of antecedents to Washington if the Commission shall think it necessary.

Accept, your excellency, the assurances, which I here renew, of my highest consideration.

JOSÉ ANDRADE.

His Excellency RICHARD OLNEY,
Secretary of State.

(5.)

[Translation.]

UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Caracas, January 10, 1896.

Resolved, In view of the fact that there are in the National Library, and in the archives of this office, many valuable documents and maps of ancient date, some of them of British and Dutch origin, as also important historical and geographical

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works of analogous character and of remote origin, collected during the past years by the National Government and its agents abroad with a view to the elucidation of the boundary question in Guayana and of establishing the rights of Venezuela in that contention; and in view of the fact that the present circumstances seem singularly opportune for an exposition in synoptical form of the titles in support of the claims of the Republic, the constitutional President of the Republic has deemed it proper to name a Commission, composed of four members, who will be charged with the duty of carefully examining, arranging, classifying, and indexing all documents and cartographical evidences referred to, and to prepare an official report containing a synopsis of said records, documents, maps, and histories, and thus giving to their work an authentic character in the grave matter treated of. The labors of the Commission will be aided at the same time by the works, maps, and documents found in other libraries and archives, and even by the reports of a technical character made to the National Government, since the beginning of the controversy, by those agents charged with the study of the conditions of the usurped Venezuelan territory. The members of the Commission will be named immediately by special Resolution, to the end that they may commence their labors forthwith and complete them if possible before the close of the session of Congress of 1896. The locality of the Commission and where it will hold its sessions will be in the upper saloon of the Yellow House, fronting the west avenue.

Let it be communicated and published.

P. EZEQUIEL ROJAS.

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UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Caracas, January 10, 1896.

Resolved, In accordance with the Resolution of this same date, relative to the examination and classification of the documents, works, and maps collected in this office with the view of elucidating the question of limits between Venezuela and British Guayana, that Dr. Rafael Seijas, as chairman, Dr. Laureano Villanueva, Dr. Julian Viso, and Señor Marco Antonio Saluzzo be, and are hereby, constituted the Commission charged with the duties aforesaid.

Notify the nominees and then publish.

By the National Executive:

P. EZEQUIEL ROJAS.

(6.)

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,
Washington, D. C., February 26, 1896.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's note of the 24th instant, and the letter of the Honorable David J. Brewer, president of the Commission on the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, which your excellency inclosed therewith; and in conformity with the desire stated in both those communications I transmitted them forthwith to my Government by cable.

I deem it pertinent to the matter of which this note treats to inform your excellency that Mr. William L. Scruggs has been appointed by the President of the Republic the agent charged

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with submitting information to the aforesaid Commission and presenting reports relative to the titles and rights of Venezuela.

I beg your excellency to accept, etc.,

JOSÉ ANDRADE.

To His Excellency the SECRETARY OF STATE.

(7.)

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,

Washington, February 22, 1896.

SIR: In response to the invitation of the Honorable David J. Brewer, president of the Commission upon the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, addressed to the parties interested in the good results of the labors of that Commission and cited in your excellency's note of the 18th of January last, of which I send a copy to my Government, the Minister of Foreign Relations charges me to inform your excellency as follows:

Toward the end of December last this department began to perfect a plan to facilitate in favor of those who may take part in the settlement of the boundary question the examination of the innumerable documents, works, and maps collected by Venezuela with the object of reenforcing her rights in the controversy. That plan eventually resolved itself into the appointment of a Commission of eminent men, composed of four members having a vote, and their operations with respect to the aforesaid maps, documents, and works are clearly defined in the order published in No. 6606 of the Official Gazette, where likewise appears the appointment of the persons chosen for that office.

By this you will see that the labors of the classifying commission embrace making a synthetical report concerning the spirit or nature of the documents, with the aid of which these, together with the books and maps, may be examined much more rapidly and carefully, and therefore to greater advantage. The Government has deemed this

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more consonant with the necessities of the case than would be the dispatch of the documents themselves forthwith without any key thereto or summary or index to facilitate their examination. The time which the Venezuelan Commission will consume in this work will be made up later on in clearness and in method, as well as in rapidity and order, in so far as concerns the examination of the important collection.

I avail myself of this occasion, etc.,

JOSÉ ANDRADE.

MR. RICHARD OLNEY,
Secretary of State.

(8.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 10, 1896.

SIR: I have just received from our ambassador at London a cipher telegram, copy of which, translated, is as follows:

British Minister for Foreign Affairs readily places at the disposal of the Government of the United States any information in the hands of Her Majesty's Government relating to Venezuelan boundary. Engaged in collecting documents for presentation to Parliament. He will have great pleasure in forwarding advance copies as soon as completed.

Respectfully yours,

RICHARD OLNEY.

HON. DAVID J. BREWER,
President Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

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APPENDIX B.

(1.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 10, 1896.

MY DEAR JUDGE: You will see by the morning papers that that has happened which at our last interview I said was likely to happen within three or four days.

The United States and Great Britain are in entire accord as to the provisions of a proposed treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela. The treaty is so eminently just and fair as respects both parties—so thoroughly protects the rights and claims of Venezuela—that I can not conceive of its not being approved by the Venezuelan President and Congress. It is thoroughly approved by the counsel of Venezuela here and by the Venezuelan Minister at this capital.

In view of this situation it is extremely improbable that the Commission of which you are president will be called upon to make a report. In the view of the President and myself it is also desirable that the deliberations of the Commission should be suspended—for reasons which I stated to you at our last interview and which I need not repeat—until further notice. There need be no ostentation about the suspension nor any special publicity given to it. But I wish to be in a position to assure all parties concerned that such is the fact.

Please treat this as strictly confidential.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD OLNEY.

Hon. DAVID J. BREWER,
President Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

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(2.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 28, 1896.

SIR: I had the honor to inform you about the 10th of November last that Great Britain and the United States had reached a complete understanding between themselves respecting the Venezuelan boundary question; that they had agreed upon the provisions of a treaty for the arbitration of the question as between Great Britain and Venezuela; that there was little, if any, doubt that the arrangement would be acceptable to Venezuela; that in these circumstances a report from the Commission would probably not be required, and accordingly that suspension of the labors of the Commission until further notice would not be out of place.

I have now the honor to apprise you that the expectations entertained when my communication was made in November last have been realized. The substantial provisions of the treaty referred to have been approved by the Venezuelan Government, so that when matters of detail and form are arranged nothing will remain but the customary signatures to the treaty and the submission of the same to the Venezuelan Congress for its ratification. There would therefore seem to be no reason why the Commission should not at once proceed to close up its work, which would seem to involve nothing more than putting the material it has accumulated into such shape as to make it easily available for the purposes of the arbitral tribunal to be constituted under the proposed treaty.

In thus notifying the Commission that there has ceased to be any occasion for the further prosecution of its labors, I am directed by the President to express his high appreciation of

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the diligence, skill, and effectiveness with which those labors have been conducted. That they have been instrumental in bringing about results of great and permanent value to the peoples of the three countries concerned can not be questioned.

Respectfully yours,

RICHARD OLNEY.

Hon. DAVID J. BREWER,
President Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

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REPORT

ON

SPANISH AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS PRIOR TO 1648.

BY

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

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REPORT ON SPANISH AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS PRIOR TO 1648.

By J. Franklin Jameson.

To the Members of the Venezuela-Guiana Boundary Commission.

Gentlemen: You have asked me to investigate and report upon "the history of the Dutch and Spanish settlements prior to 1648, including the Spanish missions and the Dutch trading posts and the examination of their respective characters, concluding with a succinct statement as to the actual location, extent, and character of those settlements at the date of the Treaty of Münster."

At the date on which this report is finished (June 11, 1896) I have not received from Professor Burr any information arising from the researches which he has just begun in the Dutch archives; no "British Blue Book" of documents and correspondence has appeared, subsequent to that headed "Venezuela, No. 1 (1896);" nor have I seen any documents emanating from the Venezuelan Government and relating to the above question of later date than those which in the present year were reprinted from "Senate Executive Document No. 226, Fiftieth Congress, first session." Information may soon come from any of these sources of such a character as to modify the conclusions herein expressed. The present report

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is based upon such printed materials as are accessible in the chief libraries of Washington, New York, Providence, and Boston.[1]

The topic propounded may, for convenience and without injury, be divided into the five following sections or subsidiary questions:

I. The history of Santo Thomé to 1648.
II. The question concerning other Spanish settlements.
III. The question of the missions.
IV. The question concerning Dutch posts on the Essequibo and the rivers to the north of it.
V. The question of Point Barima.

The accessible facts respecting these will be discussed in the above order.

I. THE HISTORY OF SANTO THOMÉ.

Though no one of the sites successively occupied by this city falls within the disputed territory, it nevertheless seems necessary to treat of its early history, in order to a thorough investigation of the second and third questions mentioned

[1] While this report was being prepared for the press an opportunity was afforded to examine a part of the results of Professor Burr's researches made in Europe. By reason of this examination, or of suggestions made by Professor Burr after reading this report, a few verbal changes have been made in the text, as, for instance, in cases where the writers of books, purporting to quote manuscript documents, have been found by Professor Burr to misquote them. It has been felt that everything erroneous should be eliminated. But it has not been thought necessary to modify the text of this report in order to avoid the appearance of overlapping with that of Mr. Burr. On the contrary, he has been so kind as to think that, in any territory common to the two, the marked agreement in the conclusions reached by this independent study based on largely different materials might in some degree fortify the deductions to which his more extensive researches have led. A few footnotes have been added by reason of Professor Burr's statements and by reason of the publication of the British Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3 (1896)." The three volumes of "Documents * * * submitted to the Boundary Commission by the counsel of the Government of Venezuela" contain no statements relating to the period ending 1648, except such as are based on Gumilla.

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above. Even the proper dating of its foundation has a bearing upon these subsequent inquiries, as has also the statement of its character at different periods.

The town of Santo Thomé de la Guayana was founded by Antonio de Berrio, probably in 1591 or 1592. For this statement a sufficient authority is that of Fray Pedro Simon, whose "Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales," Cuenca, 1627, must be often cited in this report. Fray Pedro Simon was provincial of the Franciscans at Bogotá, and wrote this volume in 1623 ("Noticias," p. 661), so that he is much more nearly a contemporary than any of those who have suggested other dates. His book is also of excellent quality, and rests, as we know, in part on respectable manuscript authorities of earlier date.

The various other dates stated require but a passing notice. Schomburgk, in his edition of Raleigh's "Discoverie" (p. 79, note 2), says that "Diego de Ordaz found in 1531–32 at the mouth of the Caroni a settlement called Caroao or Carao, which afterwards received the name of Santo Tomas de Guayana." Netscher, in his "Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo," etc. (p. 20), says that Ordaz founded Santo Thomé about 1532. Both statements are very likely derived from a similar remark in Gumilla, "El Orinoco Ilustrado" (p. 9, edition of 1741). But what Simon says (p. 121) is that Ordaz, being at Paria, "sailed to the other bank of the river, and landed at a village called Carao, whose natives received him kindly." This is a different place, and no settlement by Ordaz is mentioned. Gumilla in the same passage places the voyages of Raleigh and Keymis in 1545 and 1546 instead of 1595 and 1596. On the next page he declares that the town was destroyed in 1579 by the Dutch captain Janson; and the assertion is repeated by Caulin in his "Historia Coro-graphica Natural y Evangelica

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de la Nueva Andalucia," 1779 (p. 9), by Hartsinck, by Humboldt, "Voyage aux Régions Équinoxiales" (Vol. II, p. 638), and by Rodway, "Annals of Guiana" (p. 14). The reference is to the expedition of Admiral Adriaen Janszoon Pater, the date of which is certainly 1629 (see post); and the whole notion of Santo Thomé's existing in 1579 doubtless rests, as Professor Burr conjectures, on a misreading of MDLXXIX for MDCXXIX. For the statement of Depons, "Voyage à Terre Ferme" (Vol. III, p. 254), that Berrio founded the town in 1586, I find no authority.

The settlement thus founded in 1591 or 1592 remained for some time a feeble one. Late in 1594 Berrio sent Domingo de Vera to Spain for recruits. (Keymis, "A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana," 1596, p. 9; Simon, p. 597.) Before he returned Sir Walter Raleigh made his celebrated first voyage up the Orinoco, described in his "Discoverie" of 1595. In that book he makes no mention of Santo Thomé, though he sailed up the Orinoco to the Caroni. This does not prove that the town was not there, but that he had reasons for not mentioning it; for Keymis, "Relation of the Second Voyage" (p. 6), implies that Raleigh had found and destroyed a settlement when he says: "I answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them." Raleigh himself, in his "Apology" (edition of 1650, p. 29), speaks in 1618 of the Santo Thomé of that time as distant so many miles "from the place where Antonio Berro the first Governour, by me taken in my first discovery, had attempted to plant;" and "Newes of Sir Walter Rauleigh," London, 1618, says (pp. 42, 43): "Now an entrance in former yeares our Generall did make, as you have read, with that successe that not any before or since hath ever equalled and displanted the first garrisons."

At some time in this year 1595 Captain Velasco, who held

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Trinidad for Francisco de Vides, governor of Cumaná, sent Captain Felipe de Santiago with twenty men to take Santo Thomé from Berrio, "taking advantage," says Simon, "of the small number of men whom Berrio had." ("Noticias," p. 600.)

Santiago did not carry out his purpose. This encounter between Berrio and Santiago on the banks of the Orinoco may have taken place in the spring of 1595, as represented by Simon, or in the autumn, as represented on page 51 of the "British Blue Book," in the translation of the dispatch of Don Roque de Montes. In any case these passages, confirmed by the statement of Keymis on page 9 of his tract, show that Vides and his partisans had pretensions hostile to those of Berrio. Raleigh in his "Discoverie" (ed. Schomburgk, p. 37) says that Vides and Berrio "were become mortall enimies." Therefore the absence of all mention of Santo Thomé from the dispatch of Don Roque de Montes to the King of Spain does not, as is implied on page 4 of the "British Blue Book," lines 17 to 20, disprove its existence.

If the town was destroyed by Raleigh, it was shortly reenforced by Domingo de Vera, who brought from Spain a large body of settlers for Trinidad and the Orinoco (Simon, p. 600; Keymis, p. 9). The population of the place rose to 400 men, women, and children. Of 300 who set out for Manoa, nearly all were destroyed. Reenforcements came from Trinidad, but the governor, after a period of sufferings, permitted any who chose to withdraw. (Simon, pp. 606–614.) Keymis, who visited the Orinoco in April, 1596, states (pp. 15, 16) that the Spaniards then had at the mouth of the Caroni a "Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses," which Berrio intended to fortify with ordnance, and in which he had about 55 men.

A. Cabeliau, "commies-general" of the Dutch ship *Zeeridder*, who visited Santo Thomé in the summer of 1598, and whose

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report to the States-General is printed as an appendix to Volume I of J. K. J. de Jonge's "De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie," 1862, found there a force of 60 cavalrymen and 100 musketeers.

That the settlement was still small in 1611 is evident from a letter of Sir Thomas Roe to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, dated at Port of Spain, February 28, 1611, and summarized in the "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial." (Vol. I, p. 11.) He says that he has sailed all along the Wild Coast (i. e., Guiana); that it is understood that the King of Spain intends to plant the Orinoco; that men, cattle, and horses are arriving daily to be employed in fortifying the place, raising a new city, and in the conquest of Guiana; but that he (Roe) thinks all will be turned to smoke.

The town had not grown in importance when Raleigh's men destroyed it at the time of his last expedition. In his letter to Carew, 1618 (Edwards's "Raleigh," Vol. II, p. 377), he says: "Her Majesties death, and my longe imprisonment, gave time to the Spannierds to sett upp a towne of staks, covered with leaves of trees, upon the bancks of Oronoque, which they called 'St. Thome.'" In his "Apology" (pp. 29,52) he calls it "a Spanish towne or rather a village," "a Wooden Towne, and a kind of a Forte." The leading, and contemporary, Spanish authority makes hardly more of it. Don Diego de Palomeque, says Simon, had 57 men; there was a fort, six cannon, a church, a belfry, a convent of Franciscans. ("Noticias," pp. 637, 640, 643.)

The inhabitants began rebuilding at once upon the withdrawal of Raleigh's men, at the end of January, 1618 (Simon, p. 659), constructing now more than one church, and a convent of Dominicans as well as of Franciscans. A document cited in Caulin ("Historia Coro-graphica," pp. 180, 181) relating to the

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latter convent shows the place inhabited in April of that year. It existed when Jan de Laet wrote the first edition of his "Beschryvinghe van West Indien," that of 1625, for he gives (p. 487) elaborate sailing directions for the voyage from the Essequibo to Santo Thomé, on the authority of a journal which has come into his hands; so also in his edition of 1630 (pp. 591, 592). In both he states that the town had a large tobacco trade with the English and the Dutch, insomuch that sometimes eight or nine Dutch ships or more were in the river at one time. In his Latin edition of 1633 ("Novus Orbis," etc., p. 659) he speaks of this in the past tense, as having existed until the King of Spain forbade under severe penalties such trading with foreigners.

In December, 1629, Santo Thomé was attacked by a naval force of the Dutch West India Company under Admiral Adriaen Janszoon Pater, and was sacked and burned; it then consisted of 130 or 140 houses, of slight construction, a church, and a Franciscan convent. (De Laet, "Beschryvinghe van West Indien," edition of 1630, p. 593, and his "Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael," p. 166.) According to Document No. 12 in the "British Blue Book," page 56, the place was again taken, sacked, and burned in 1637 by the Dutch and Caribs.[1]

Finally, it appears from Father Pelleprat's "Relation des Missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Isles, et dans la terre firme de l'Amérique Méridionale," Paris, 1655 (pt. 2, p. 9), that at the time of the arrival of Father Denis Mesland in Spanish Guiana, in 1653, Santo Thomé had very few inhabitants.

[1] This affair is now more fully described in contemporary Spanish documents, of which translations are printed in the British Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," at pp. 212-216. The author of one of these documents, the regidor of Trinidad, says that Santo Thomé was at the time of the attack in process of removal; there were a few settlers at the new town and a few at the old (p. 215). In another (p. 214) an alcalde of Trinidad states that the population was scanty in those parts.

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It is evident, then, that at no time between 1591 and 1648 was this Spanish town an important center of population, such as would naturally send out offshoots into the surrounding territory. On the contrary, it must have been, during nearly all these years, a feeble settlement, maintaining its own existence with some difficulty. It is evident also that one's search for evidence of other settlements in Spanish Guiana need not be extended backward beyond the year 1591.

It does not appear necessary to enter at length into the vexed and difficult question of the various sites of Santo Thomé. Putting together the statements of Simon (pp. 596, 608), of Keymis (p. 15), and of Cabeliau (in De Jonge, Vol. I, p. 157), it seems clear that the original town was, from 1591 to 1598, at the mouth of the Caroni. Although Simon represents it as still there at the time of Raleigh's expedition of 1618 (p. 641), Raleigh's own expression ("Apology," p. 29) that it was now "twenty mile distant from the place where Antonio Berro * * * had attempted to plant," accords better with all the details which have come down to us respecting the English assault and occupation.[1] These conclusions are also those of Mr. S. R. Gardiner, in his "Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage." (Vol. I, p. 54.) As to the site to which Fernando de Berrio removed the town in 1619, or the site or sites subsequently occupied, down to 1648, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile or to make definite all the indications given by Simon (pp. 666, 670), De Laet ("Jaerlyck Verhael," p. 166), Gumilla (p. 11), and Caulin (pp. 59, 191), though the last two agree in placing it at the site which it occupied in the middle of the last century. It is sufficient to say that no writer places it

[1] Professor Burr suggests that the building of the town at this more defensible site may even have begun as early as 1596 or 1597, with the arrival of Domingo de Vera and his settlers—the account of Cabeliau being perhaps as consistent with this site as with the other.

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at any time at a lower point than this, so that its occupation was never an occupation of a portion of the territory now disputed. Its history has been given for other reasons.

II. THE QUESTION OF OTHER SPANISH SETTLEMENTS.

There is no perfect evidence of the existence before 1648 of any other Spanish settlement than Santo Thomé in the region between the Orinoco and the Essequibo, or of any other than a temporary occupation of any position in that region.

I know of no authority for the statement made by Señor Fortique (Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 226, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 29) that "in 1591 the enemies of Spain found towns to ruin" in Guiana. The evidence regarding Spanish occupation in Guiana after that date may be stated as follows:

An appendix to Raleigh's "Discoverie" contains abstracts of certain Spanish letters from the New World which were taken at sea by Capt. George Popham in 1593 or 1594, and were delivered by him to the Privy Council. Among these is an account which purports to have been sent to the King of Spain to inform him of the formal act by which Domingo de Vera, *maestro de campo* to Antonio de Berrio, had taken possession for Spain of lands south of the Orinoco. The document is to be found at pages 123–128 in Schomburgk's edition of Raleigh, and is summarized on page 383 of the "Calendars of State Papers, Domestic," 1591–1594. It is dated from the river Orinoco, "in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of Aprill 1593," and relates, with the signatures of Domingo de Vera and of Rodrigo de Caranca, register of the forces, how Vera had taken formal possession of the land in the name of the King and of Berrio, the governor, at Warismero; then, under successive dates extending to the 4th of May, how the

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same was done at three points lying inland from the river, the first two leagues inland, the second Carapana's town, the third Topiawari's town (apparently all these lay near the mouth of the Caroni), crosses being erected and the consent of these chieftains being understood to be given. The march is then traced for a week more, 10 leagues (40 miles) inland from Topiawari's town, but with no statement as to taking possession beyond that place. The document is no doubt substantially authentic, but it indicates possession only as a formal act performed upon the line of march.

In 1595 Raleigh, in his "Discoverie" (Schomburgk's ed., p. 39) says that Berrio "alwaies appointed 10 Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne" (see also p. 56), while Keymis in 1596 speaks of him as going to Carapana with 15 men, and also of 10 Spaniards as abiding in Winicapora (pp. 10, 18). But Carapana was no doubt very near S. Thomé, and the Winicapora is probably the Caño José, an affluent of the Orinoco only a few miles long. These phrases, therefore, do not indicate any occupation of portions of the territory now disputed. Upon the same page with the passage just mentioned Raleigh says that the Spaniards "used in Canoas to passe to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buie women and children from the Canibals", but says nothing to support Señor Fortique's statement that Raleigh wrote that the Spaniards "occupied the rivers Barima, Moroco, and Pumaron" or "that their domination extended to the Essequibo." (Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 226, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 29.)

Simon (pp. 606, 607) represents the Spaniards of S. Thomé, soon after the arrival of the reinforcements under Domingo de Vera, as proceeding to make excursions in the vicinity, trading with the natives, but not as making any other settlements. He also narrates at length (pp. 608–610) the fortunes

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of a body of 300 who set out for Manoa, but of whom all but about 30 were soon destroyed by the Indians, and whose expedition effected nothing.

Keymis, against a marginal date of September (1595), mentions another Spanish expedition, his account of which should be cited textually, because of the inferences which, as will be seen, have been drawn from distorted versions of it. He says (pp. 8, 9): "In Moruga it was, that they (the Spaniards) hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yeere since * * * They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniardes of Marguerita, and the Caraccas". It is sufficient for the present purpose to say that this is no evidence of Spanish occupation of the Moruca.[1]

In April, 1597, Leonard Berrie, who conducted a third voyage for Raleigh, was in the Corentyn. Thomas Masham, who accompanied him and wrote the account of the voyage in Hakluyt (edition of 1811, Vol. IV), says that he there learned from an Indian that in the Essequibo "there were some 300 Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead" (p. 193). On May 4, he says (p. 194): "It was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Desekebe, which was not so. * * * The next night wee had newes brought * * * that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine * * * who went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe". The phrase must probably be interpreted as meaning "for *those who were* in the Orinoco, the Moruca, and the Essequibo." Under this interpretation the passages cited from Masham seem to imply a temporary occupation in the Essequibo

[1]Professor Burr calls my attention to the fact that Keymis, in speaking of the Essequibo, also says: "Fartber to the oastward than Dessekebe no Spaniard ever travelled * * * In this river, wbich we now call Devoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne." Tbe sentence is a confused one, but as to its meaning there can be no question.

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at this time. This may be the explanation of the emblem carved in stone over the gate of the fort at Kykoveral, which Hartsinck ("Beschrijvinge van Guiana," p. 262) declared to be the Portuguese arms, and to be evidence of previous Portuguese occupation, but which Netscher (p. 337), who has seen it, declares to be simply a cross, and to be more probably of Spanish origin, since the Portuguese hardly came so far west.

The occupation, if there was a distinct occupation, was temporary. De Laet, in his "Beschryvinghe van West Indien," edition of 1625, says (p. 474): "The Spaniards had here (i. e., in the Essequibo) some people in the year 1591 (he means 1597) according to the account of Thomas Masham, but they seem to have come to nothing again." In his edition of 1630 he says, more decidedly, that the settlement *had* come to naught (p. 577).[1]

But of more importance are the observations of A. Cabeliau in 1598, already mentioned. His narrative is detailed, clear, and businesslike. In company with two other ships that he found on the Guiana coast, he visited all the rivers between the Wiapoco and the Orinoco; he names, among others, the Essequibo, the Pomeroon, and the Moruca. Into these rivers they did not sail, partly "because there was not much to get there, as the Indians informed us" ("datter nyet veel te halen en was, zoe ons d'indianen wys maecten"); so they only coasted along the land in this part, in order to have knowledge of it. As Cabeliau traded freely and eagerly with the Spaniards of Santo Thomé, and was given the guidance of the governor's miner in searching around there for Raleigh's mines, it is extremely unlikely that when he coasted along

[1]As Professor Burr points out, an Englishman (who is clearly Harcourt's cousin, Unton Fisher), writing in 1608 from the Guiana coast, tells it as important news that now, as he learns from an Indian, the Spaniard "hath cleare left Dissikeebee and not a Spaniard there."

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past the Essequibo with the above-mentioned impression of it, there were any Spaniards there. Remarks which he makes when speaking of the soldiers at Santo Thomé, in a passage already adduced, have an important bearing on the question of other settlements. He says that these soldiers "daily seek to conquer the gold-rich Guiana, but can not do it by means of the forts as yet built there, nor by any means of friendship, because the nation called Caribs violently oppose them every day * * *, and the Spaniards, seeing that they can not win anything there, have begun to make a road, about six days' journey south of the river Orinoco, in the mountain range of Guiana, through the rocks and hills, about 1,600 stadia long, * * * and think by these means to conquer it" ("dagelicx vervolgen om het goudryk Weyana te conquesteren, dan connen 'tzelfde doer de fortsen alsnoch daerop gedaen zynde of met geene middelen van vriendschap conquesteren, deurdien de natie genaemt Charibus hen dagelycx geweldichlicken wederstaen * * *, ende de Spaegnaerden siende dat zy aldaer nyet en konnen gewinnen, hebben omtrent 6 daegreyzens, by suydens de riviere Worinoque, aen 't geberchte van de Weyane eenen wech beginnen te maeken doer die rotsen ende geberchten, omtrent 1600 stadien lanck, * * * ende meenen by dese middel alsoe, tselfde te conquesteren"). (The passage is in De Jonge, "Opkomst," etc., Vol. I, p. 156–159.) If a road 200 English miles long is meant, it would, if extended in certain directions southerly from the Orinoco at Santo Thomé, run into the territory now in dispute.

The letter of Sir Thomas Roe, already mentioned, may fairly be thought to indicate that there were no Spanish settlements, or none of any account, on the coast of Guiana in 1611.

Raleigh, in a letter supposed to be of the year 1612 (Edwards's "Raleigh," Vol. II, p. 338), speaks of a captain

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"who came from Orenoke this last spring, and was oftentimes ashore att St. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabite," words which seem to imply that they at that time had but that one settlement. In his journal of his voyage of 1617 (Schomburgk's Raleigh's "Discoverie," p. 203), he says of the Essequibo that "the Spaniards of Orenoke had dayly recourse" to it. But in that journal and in the other literature of this last voyage nothing points to any *settlements* of Spaniards in this region except at Santo Thomé, while many passages convey an implication that that was their sole town. One instance to the contrary should be mentioned. In "A declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and sithence his Returne," which King James I published in 1618 for public justification of his course, "although Kings be not bound to give Account of their Actions to any but God alone," we read (on p. 30), "And yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was scituate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers Townes in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their Vassals." But it is doubtful whether great weight should be given to this testimony.[1]

On the other hand, it is observable that Don Diego de Palomeque, on the approach of Raleigh's men, sent a man "to warn and call those who were on their estates (*estancias*) at more or less distance from the city" (Simon, p. 637), but that he did not send for remoter aid. Those who fled from the town had apparently no neighboring settlement to which to flee (p. 641). When the authorities of the town, Palomeque

[1]Professor Burr suggests that King James's statement came to him from the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. This derivation, which would of course deprive the statement of value, is based on a passage which Mr. Burr quotes (see his report) from the second edition of Harcourt's "Relation of a Voyage to Guiana," 1626.

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being dead, sent for aid, it was to Bogotá (p. 650). Simon prints at length (pp. 651–658) the instructions which Don Juan de Borja, president of the audiencia of Santa Fé, gave to Captain Diego Martin, whom, in response to this appeal, he sent with a force for the succor of Santo Thomé—instructions dated May 28, 1618. Among all the directions which he gives him for his guidance in the performance of this remote and uncertain task, there is no hint of the existence in Guiana of any other Spanish settlements than Santo Thomé, although, if there had been any such, the president would surely have been anxious for their protection also.[1]

Late in 1619 or early in 1620, the Arwaccas having slain six Spaniards, Fernando de Berrio sent out Captain Geronimo de Grados from Santo Thomé to chastise them. He went into the Barima[2] and compelled the natives to submit and to give him provisions; then into the Essequibo, where he did the same; then into the "Verius." At the mouth of the Essequibo, on his return thither, he found six foreign ships ("navios de enemigos") manned by Englishmen, who seized him and sent word to Berrio to ransom him for 30 quintals of tobacco, March, 1620. In Simon's account of this affair ("Noticias," pp. 664–666) there is no hint of any Spanish town in these rivers, and it appears most probable from the narrative that there was not. In speaking of Pater's expedition of 1629 De Laet ("Jaerlyck Verhael," pp. 165, 166) conveys the same implication, making no mention of any other Spanish town than S. Thomé, though he gives a minute account of almost every day's progress of the fleet. The same is true of the

[1]The same inferences arise from the petition of the town of Santo Thomé to the King of Spain, printed in the British Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 207–209, and from the accompanying documents.

[2]"Baruma." Professor Burr presents good reasons for believing that this means the Pomeroon, and not the Barima.

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various editions of his description of the West Indies, Dutch, Latin, and French, of 1625, 1630, 1633, and 1640. He mentions no settlements of Europeans from the Essequibo to Santo Thomé, though he gives elaborate sailing directions for the whole route (pp. 487, 591, 659, 601 of the respective editions). Señor Fortique's statement ("Senate Executive Document No. 226," p. 29) that De Laet found the Moroco and the Pumeron occupied by Spain before 1648 is, so far as I know, quite without foundation.

In a document of the year 1633 or 1634 the Dutch West India Company, according to the translation in the "New York Colonial Documents" (Vol. I, p. 66), say: "From New Spain, eastward, * * * to beyond Trinidad * * * are all settled by Spaniards; except next to these, the Guiana country, which we call the Wild Coast; this coast and divers rivers are inhabited by free Indians, and still unsettled; * * * but * * * all the trade which exists there, can easily be carried on with two or three ships a year."[1]

Heylin's "Cosmographie," 1652, a book which enjoyed a certain authority, speaks of Santo Thomé as "the only Town of all Guiana possessed by the Spaniards."

III. THE QUESTION OF THE MISSIONS.

Even if there were, within the period before the date of the Treaty of Münster, no occupation of Guiana by Spanish laymen, it would be entirely possible that settlements of a character to give title under that treaty might have been founded by missionaries. It therefore becomes necessary to examine all the evidences of missionary activity in the Orinoco region between 1591 and 1648.

[1] The documents relating to the capture of Santo Thomé in 1637, printed in the British Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 212–216, give no indication of other Spanish settlements near.

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Caulin ("Historia Coro-graphica," p. 9) declares that Fathers Llauri and Vergara came into the province of Guayana in 1576 and labored there until 1579, when they were obliged to withdraw by reason of the invasion effected by the Dutch captain Janson. But the expedition of Janson (Adriaen Janszoon Pater) occurred in 1629, as has already been seen, and the mission of Fathers Llauri and Vergara, as will be shown on better evidence later, began in 1664.

Fray Pedro Simon, who 30 years later was provincial of the Franciscans in the province of Santa Fé, to which Santo Thomé originally belonged, tells us ("Noticias," p. 606) that a Franciscan, Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda, accompanied Berrio in all his discoveries and in the founding of Santo Thomé. Another friar, Francisco Carillo, accompanied Domingo de Vera in his march of 1593, according to the Popham document already cited. (Schomburgk's Raleigh's "Discoverie," pp. 124, 125; "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591–1594," p. 383.)

When Domingo de Vera in 1595, or perhaps in 1596, returned from Spain with reenforcements for Berrio, he brought with him ten clergymen and twelve Franciscan friars. Two of the secular clergy and five of the friars went at once to Santo Thomé, where Fray Domingo de Santa Agueda welcomed the five Franciscans into a convent which he had founded, "making six," says Simon explicitly. ("Noticias," pp. 599, 606.) It appears from this that Santo Thomé had not hitherto been a center of missionary propaganda, and there is no evidence that any friars were in Guiana outside of the town. The expedition toward Manoa was accompanied by four friars, but its fatal termination precludes the thought of their having then established mission stations.

Simon, in his "Noticias Historiales" (p. 614), describes the subsequent fortunes of eight of these ecclesiastics. Two of

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them, permitted by Berrio to withdraw at the time of depression ensuing upon the Manoa expedition, perished on their way in the delta of the Orinoco; two others in their voyage from Trinidad to Margarita; three others succeeded in returning to Europe, and three, all Franciscans, made their way up to New Granada. Simon would surely obtain information directly or indirectly from these, living as he did at the capital of that kingdom, and, as a good Franciscan, would not have failed to make mention of any extensive missionary labors on their part. But he makes no mention of any missions in Guiana outside of Santo Thomé down to the close of his volume, which was written in 1623.

In 1617 the convent was transferred from the jurisdiction of the province of Santa Fé to that of the province of Carácas, and on April 25, 1618, the transfer was effected at Santo Thomé. (Caulin, "Historia Coro-graphica," p. 180.) At the time of the attack by Raleigh's men in January of that year, Padre Francisco de Leuro, who seems to have been both parish priest and head of the convent, was slain. The authorities of the town, in their appeal to the audiencia of Santa Fé, say that they have but one priest remaining. In the subsequent rebuilding both a Franciscan and a Dominican convent were erected; but there was none but the Franciscan there at the time when the town was assailed by Pater in 1629. (Simon, pp. 650, 659; De Laet, "Beschryvinghe van West Indien," edition of 1630, p. 593; "Novus Orbis," 1633, p. 659; "Nouveau Monde," 1640, p. 601.)

I have found no other indications of Franciscan activity in Guiana than these, which carry with them no implication of the existence of other missionary stations than Santo Thomé itself.

In the Jesuit literature of the time and of subsequent years

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("Relations," "Litteræ Annuæ," etc.) I have found but one indication of the presence of a Jesuit in Spanish Guiana before 1648, and I understood Professor Burr that he had found no other, in the libraries in which he had searched, than this same one. In the "Annuæ Litteræ" for 1652, namely, in the portion devoted to the occurrences in the province of New Granada from 1642 to 1652, inclusive, one section (p. 185) consists of a list of those who have died. Among the entries we find this: "In the Mission of Guayana, where scarcely any harvest responds to labor, however distressing, Father Andreas Ignatius, head of that mission, a man of obedience and heroic zeal, and a professed of the four vows, fell at that glorious and most destitute post." ("In Missione Guayanensi, ubi labori quantumvis ærumnoso messis pænè nulla respondet, P. Andreas Ignatius, ejus Missionis Præses, vir obedientiæ ac zeli heroici, et 4. vota Professus, in gloriosâ illâ, et rerum omnium penuriæ plenâ statione occubuit.") Of this Father Andreas Ignatius I have found no other trace in Jesuit literature.

The phrase "ejus Missionis Præses" above, would naturally be held to imply the presence of several Jesuits in Guiana at this time. Yet when, September 29, 1652, one who is called "Dom Frantique," an officer of the governor Don Martin de Mendoza, writes to Father Dionysius Méland (or Mesland) reinforcing the governor's invitation to him to come over from the French possessions to Santo Thomé, he says: "We have here no member of a religious order" ("Nous n'avons point icy de Religieux"). (P. Pelleprat, Relation des Missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Isles, et dans la terre firme de l'Amérique Méridionale, Pt. II, p. 27.)

Cassani, the historian of the Jesuit province, begins the story of Jesuit activity in the regions of the lower Orinoco with the year 1659. He relates how in that year Father

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Antonio de Monteverde, a Fleming, came from Cayenne to the Orinoco and then made his way up the river to the mission of his order in the llanos. He persuaded the provincial authorities in Santa Fé to take religious possession of the lower Orinoco, and Fathers Vergara and Llauri were sent thither in 1664. Monteverde and Mesland, "a tried man," were in the same year assigned to the mission in the llanos. Llauri and Vergara found the Spaniards of Guiana in a condition of spiritual destitution. (Cassani, "Historia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus del Nuevo Reyno de Granada," 1741, pp. 81, 82, 110, 114, 128.) Gumilla, in his "El Orinoco Ilustrado" (p. 11), also a Jesuit, has no earlier origin of Jesuit missions in Guiana to suggest.

There is, then, among the accessible materials respecting the Jesuits no evidence to support the notion of settlements established by them in the territory now disputed. Of other than Franciscan and Jesuit missionary efforts in the region I have found no trace save the mention of the Dominican convent, apparently short-lived, at Santo Thomé.

IV. THE QUESTION CONCERNING DUTCH POSTS.

It seems susceptible of demonstration that the Dutch had no settlements in the northwestern portions of Guiana before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Hartsinck, "Beschrijving van Guyana," says that as early as 1580 Dutch vessels traded along this coast. But the remark is no doubt due, as De Jonge has remarked ("Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag," Vol. I, p. 46, note), to a misconstruction of a remark of De Laet in his "Beschryvinghe van West Indien" (on p. 487 in the edition of 1625). It is not necessary to explain the misconstruction, as neither Hartsinck

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nor De Laet refers to settlement, but only to voyaging and trade.[1]

The "British Blue Book" (p. 4) declares that "there is abundant evidence coming from Spanish sources that during the latter half of the century, prior to 1590, the Dutch had established themselves on the coast of Guiana." No such evidence is brought forward, however, and the marginal reference is a general reference to the entire correspondence of a whole province with the Spanish Government during a period of a hundred and five years. Until such evidence is adduced, the statement must, on grounds which will presently be mentioned, be regarded as of hardly more weight than that which precedes it in the sentence, that "the Dutch appear to have been the first who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, turned their attention to Guiana."

Not better supported is the statement immediately following upon the same page, that "in 1595 the English explorer, Capt. Charles Leigh, found the Dutch established near the mouth of the Orinoco, a fact which is confirmed from Spanish sources." The Spanish sources are neither quoted nor mentioned. The marginal reference is to Purchas's Pilgrims, pages 1250–1255. Now, the letter of Charles Leigh printed on page 1254 of Purchas is dated July 2, 1604, and relates to his voyage of that time, and not to that of 1595, from which no letter is known to have survived. It speaks of Dutchmen in the river Wiapoco, far to the eastward of the disputed territory, and not in the Orinoco. Moreover, it says simply: "At my arrivall here I found a Dutch Shippe, and sithence here hath arrived another, they buy up all the Flaxe they can get." No mention of any Dutch settlement is made, either here or elsewhere in Leigh's

[1] A fuller examination of this error, by Professor Burr, will be found in his report on the evidence of the Dutch archives.

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letter. Neither is any such story to be found in the narratives of Leigh's companions. Their accounts agree with his. "This Sims," says Master John Wilson, "was Masters mate of the Holland Shippe which Captain Lee found in the River of Wiapoco at his first arrivall there" (p. 1264).

Next in chronological order comes the statement, repeated in "Senate Executive Document No. 226," that in 1596 the Spaniards drove out a body of Dutch colonists from the Essequibo. This is most likely derived from Hartsinck, who says that the Netherlanders must have settled early on the Essequibo, for the Spaniards already in 1596 drove them out from there ("want de Spanjaarden hadden hen in 1596 reeds van daar verdreven"). The genealogy of this statement can apparently be traced. Hartsinck gives as his authority Martinière's "Grand Dictionnaire Géographique," 1738. Martinière probably got it from some edition of Blaeu. Blaeu got it from De Laet, and De Laet from Keymis. But what Keymis said was ("Relation of the Second Voyage," 1596, pp. 8, 9): "In Moruga it was, that they (the Spaniards) hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yeere since [margin, September]. * * * They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniardes of Marguerita, and the Caraccas." In other words, certain Spaniards drove out certain Indians from the district of the Moruca. Jan de Laet's account of the affair is, in his edition of 1625, the following (p. 475): * * * "the Moruca, where the Spaniards of Margarita and Carácas drove out the savages in the year 1596, with the help of the Arwacas" (* * * "Moruga, daer de Spaegniaerden van de Margarita ende Caraccas de Wilden verdreven in 't jare 1596. met hulpe van de Arwaccas"). His second edition, 1630, reads the same (p. 577), save for a gloss upon the name Moruga, "Moruga, or, as our people call it,

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Ammegore." In his Latin edition of 1633 he gives the same account (p. 649): * * * "Moruga (quem nostrates vocant Ammegoren) cujus accolas, Hispani è Margarita et Caraccis advecti, anno cIↃ IↃ XCVI ope Arwaccarum ex avitis sedibus pepulerunt."

From this harmless rhetorical addition about "the homes of their ancestors" the transition was easy to the text as we find it in the French edition of 1640 (p. 590): * * * "Moruga (which our people call Ammegore) the inhabitants of which the Spaniards from Margarita and Carácas drove out from the land of their ancestors (or predecessors) by the aid of the Arwaccas, in the year 1596." Blaeu ("Douzieme Volume de la Géographie Blaviane," Amsterdam, 1667, p. 292) copies the words of the French text exactly, save that, perhaps in order to be more impersonal, he substitutes "the Dutch" for "our people." The passage then read: * * * "Moruga (que les Belges nomment Ammegore) les habitans de laquelle, les Espagnols venus de la Margarite et des Caracques, chasserent du pays de leur predecesseurs, par le moyen des Arwaques, l'an 1596." Martinière, in his "Grand Dictionnaire Géographique" (T. IV, p. 138, s. v. Essequebe), varies the phrase still further. After mentioning the Moruga, he says: "The Dutch give to this last the name of Ammegore. In 1596 the Spaniards from Margarita and Carácas drove out from the land of their predecessors those who lived on the banks of this river, using for this purpose the aid of the Arwaccas" ("Les Hollandois donnent le nom d'Ammegore à cette dernière. Les Espagnols venus de la Marguerite et de Caraques chasserent en 1596 du Païs de leurs prédecesseurs ceux qui habitoient sur les bords de cette Rivière, et se servirent pour cela du secours des Arwaques"). After all these little successive modifications the passage, even as it stands in Martinière, does not

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declare that the Spaniards drove out Dutch inhabitants of the Moruga. But, the mention of the Dutch once introduced, it is easy to see how an inaccurate writer might confuse them with the "prédecesseurs," might, for instance, in the extract just given take "Dutch" to be the grammatical antecedent of "those," and so might suppose the sense to be that the Spaniards drove out "those Dutchmen who lived on the banks of" the Moruga. Evidently this is just what Hartsinck did. Thus the evidence of occupation in 1596 disappears.

The "British Blue Book," on page 4, says that "Ibarguen in 1597 visited San Thomé; he also visited the Essequibo and reported 'white men,' who can be shown to have been the Dutch, to be settled high up that river." For this, a vague reference to the letters of the province of Cumaná in the archives of the Indies during a period of one hundred and thirteen years is given, but no text.[1]

The notion that the Dutch had settlements in the Essequibo at this time is plainly refuted by the narrative of A. Cabeliau, already described. Not only does it seem certain that if there had been Dutch settlements in that river he would have known of and visited them, but he distinctly declares, in his report to the States-General (De Jonge, Vol. I, p. 160), that in his voyage along this coast he and his companions had discovered, found, and visited more than twenty-four rivers, many islands in the rivers, and other various harbors, "which have not been known or visited by our nation, and, what is more, have not been described or discovered in any charts or cosmographies

[1] It appears from a communication of the British Colonial Office to Professor Burr that Don Domingo de Ibarguen, in a long report dated Trinidad, October 27, 1597, says that, having accompanied Don Fernando de Berrio to Santo Thomé, he set out thence on a voyage of exploration and visited the Essequibo, where he says that he "heard very great news of the men who were clothed and fighting with arms." But he makes in this connection no mention of the Dutch.

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before the time of our voyage" ("die nyet by dese landen en zyn bekent nog beseylt geweest, ja dat meer is, in geene quaerten oft cosmographen voerdato onse voyage bescreven nock ontdekt zijn geworden"). Moreover, the conscientious De Jonge found no evidence in the Dutch archives of settlement prior to the seventeenth century.

As to the Dutch settlements made in the first half of that century, much confusion has been introduced into the subject by Hartsinck, who on page 207 of his "Beschrijvinge van Guiana" describes Nova Zelandia and Fort ter Hooge as situated on the Essequibo and identifies the latter with Kykoveral, at the juncture of the Cayuni and the Mazaruni, while on page 259 he describes Nieuw Zeeland, Nieuw Middelburg, and the Huis ter Hooge as situated on the Pomeroon. But Hartsinck is not a first-hand authority for the period before 1648, nor are, apparently, his sources. It is best to go back first to such authorities as seem incontestable, and, moreover, first to consider the facts respecting the Essequibo.

There can be no doubt that the Dutch West India Company had an establishment on the Essequibo in 1626. A resolution of the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, of December 10 in that year, permits Jacob Canyn to retire from his position at Isekepe, while another, of August 23, 1627, shows Jan van der Goes as an agent of theirs in that region.[1] (Netscher, p. 61.)

Earlier dates have been suggested, but on less solid grounds. In the years 1750 and 1751 the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company had a controversy with the other members, claiming the colony on the Essequibo as exclusively theirs. In a memorial of the States of Zeeland and the Zeeland

[1]The passage already cited from the journal of 1617 in Schomburgk's Raleigh's "Discoverie" (see p. 50, above) seems to exclude the chance of Dutch as well as of Spanish settlements in the Essequibo in 1617.

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Chamber to the States-General, in 1750 (printed in Jacobus Kok's "Vaderlandsch Woordenboek," 1785, Vol. XIV, s. v. Essequebo), those bodies say: "The States of Zeeland are always considered and called the patrons and founders of the colonies on the mainland of America, between Cape Orange and the river Orinoco, and especially of that of Essequibo, known to your Excellencies under the name of Nova Zelandia, which colony was already known and visited by the Zeeland Chamber at the time of the granting of the charter of 1621; witness the old books and registers, and among others a journal book of 1627, in continuation of that kept by Conijn in Essequibo, giving an account of his administration to the managers of Guiana in Zeeland" (p. 404). A petition of the chief stockholders of the Zeeland Chamber to the States-General in 1751 ("Tegenwoordige Staat van Amerika," 1767, p. 661; Hartsinck, p. 234) makes a similar assertion, that "at the first beginning of the West India Company in 1621 the river Essequibo was noticed as a colony already established, strengthened by a fortress then called Fort ter Hooge * * * but soon after named Kykoveral" ("dat by den eersten aanvang van de Westindische Compagnie in 1621, de Rivier Essequebo aangemerkt wierd als eene reeds bevestigde bezitting, besterkt met een Fortres toen al genaamd het Fort der Hooge * * * en kort daar na genoemd Kyk overal"). But this is assertion made long after.[1]

Nearer in point of time, but open to objection on other grounds, is the testimony of a paper among the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, of which portions (apparently nearly the whole) are printed in the Rev. H. V. P. Bronkhurst's "The Colony of British Guyana and its Labouring

[1] The value of these assertions, and their relation to the documentary evidence to which they appeal, is fully investigated by Professor Burr in his report.

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Population," London, 1883 (pp. 45–53). It appears to be of the year 1668, and is anonymous.[1] "The sixth colony," the author says, "was undertaken by one Captain Gromweagle, a Dutchman, that had served the Spaniard in Oranoque, but understanding a company of merchants of Zealand had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana and attempted a settlement there" (this no doubt refers to a preceding paragraph, which notes an abortive settlement of Zeelanders at Cayenne in 1615), "he deserted the Spanish service, and tendered himself to his own country, which was accepted, and he dispatched from Zealand, anno 1616, with two ships and a galliot, and was the first man that took firm footing on Guiana by the good likeing of the natives, whose humours the gentleman perfectly understood. He erected a forte on a small island thirty leagues up the river Dissekeeb, which looked into two great branches of that famous river. All his time the Colony flourished; * * * he was a great friend of all new colonies of Christians of what nation soever, and Barbados oweth its first assistance, both for food and trade, to this man's special kindness, anno 1627, at which time they were in a miserable condition; he dyed anno 1664, and in the 83d year of his age, a wealthy man, having been Governor of that Colonie forty-eight years. In this Colonie the authour had the good fortune to meet with some ingenious observations of the former Governor, of what had been transacted in Guiana in his time, to whom the world is obliged for many particulars of this story." A footnote relates how Capt. Thomas Powell, governor of Barbados from 1625 to 1628, "having understood the Dutch had a plantation in the River Dissekeeb," sent to his old friend Captain Gromweagle for aid, and how Gromweagle "persuaded a family of

[1]The results of Professor Burr's personal investigation of this manuscript will be found on pp. 133–138 of Vol. II and in his report.

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Arawacoes, consisting of forty persons, to attend Powell to Barbados, to learn the English to plant," etc. (Bronkhurst, pp. 46–48.)

The author of this paper can be proved to have been Maj. John Scott, somewhat famous in the history of Long Island and of New Netherland down to 1665. For he says (id., p. 50): "The same year [1665] in the month of October, the author having been commisionated Commander-in-chief of a small fleet and a regiment of soldiers, for the attack of Tobago, and several other settlements in the hands of the Netherlanders in Guiana, as Moroco, Wacopou, Bowroome, and Dissekeeb, and having touched at Tobago, in less than six months had the good fortune to be in possession of those countries." Now by reference to the "Calendars of State Papers, Colonial" (Vol. V, pp. 481, 529, 534), it will be seen, both by Scott's testimony and by that of another, that he was commander of this expedition.[1] John Scott (see the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VI, pp. 66–74) has not the highest reputation. Lord Willoughby writes to Secretary Williamson ("Calendars," p. 540) that Scott has perchance told Williamson some truth, but not all gospel. Netscher, to whom the document is anonymous, declares that while Aert Adriaenszoon Groenewegel (Scott's "Captain Gromweagle") was commandant on the Essequibo from 1657 to 1666, he certainly did not command there for forty-eight years. He also says, with justice, that the paper is inaccurate in other parts ("Geschiedenis," pp. 42, 43, 358). Yet it seems difficult altogether to discredit it. The Zeeland expedition of 1615 is historical. ("British Blue Book," p. 53, No. 8.) The passage regarding Barbados receives independent

[1]By reference to Professor Burr's statements on p. 134, Vol. II, it will be seen that the manuscript is undoubtedly by Scott, the original bearing his name.

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confirmation from a contemporary source, "The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith," London, 1630, in chapter 26 of which we read concerning Barbados: "The first planters brought thither by Captaine Henry Powel, were forty English, with seven or eight Negroes; then he went to Disacuba in the maine, where he got thirty Indians, men, women and children, of the Arawacos."[1]

The indications given by Netscher and, in the last century, by the Zeelanders as to what is or was in the Dutch archives, coupled with the statements of Scott and Smith, are at any rate sufficient to show that by 1627 the Dutch had an establishment, probably Kykoveral, on the Essequibo, though De Laet makes no mention of any in his editions of 1625, 1630, or 1633.

The Zeeland memorial of 1750, already cited, sets forth (Kok, Vol. XIV, p. 405) that when, in 1632, the majority of the Nineteen of the West India Company wished to abandon the Essequibo colony, the Zeeland Chamber protested, resolved to continue it, and took the necessary measures. Reference is made to the records of their meetings of April 8, June 17 and 24, 1632, February 13 and June 29, 1634. In the latter year David Pieterszoon de Vries was, in the early days of November, at the mouth of the "Timmerarie" (Demerara). While he was lying there he was visited by Jan van der Goes, who came over in a canoe from the "Isekebie" (Essequibo), where he was chief commander for the West India Company, "die daer Opperhooft was van wegen de West-Indische Companie" (De

[1]But from certain documents (to which my attention has been called by Professor Burr), published in *Timehri* for June, 1891, it appears, on Powell's own evidence, not only that these Indians were carried off without any aid from the Dutch, but that Powell knew nothing of the presence of the Dutch in the river. Scott, therefore, is here clearly wrong.

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Vries, "Korte Historiael," 1655, p. 135). This Jan van der Goes has been mentioned above, and is named by Netscher as commander on the Essequibo at this time. The Zeeland memorial of 1750 says that his actions and his plans for the development of trade and the discovery of silver mines may be seen by examining the records of the Zeeland Chamber for April 20, May 21, 1637, February 21, April 18, 1639, April 12, June 23, and October 18, 1640, but does not quote these passages.

As to the existence of the colony on the Essequibo from 1640 to 1648, the printed sources which I have examined offer no more than a probability of its continuance. Nor, unless Scott be trusted, has any evidence presented itself which would show where on the Essequibo was situated the Dutch colony—save evidence a century later.

Nor have I, if one document be set aside, seen any evidence that the Dutch before 1648 occupied any post or posts west of the Essequibo. The documents, of date 1613 and 1614, given in the "British Blue Book" (p. 52), show only that the Dutch were reported to have three or four settlements somewhere between the Amazon or Wiapoco and the Orinoco. Hartsinck, indeed (p. 259), speaks of Nieuw Zeeland, Nieuw Middelburg and the Huis ter Hooge as situated on the Pomaroon, and as destroyed by the English in 1666. But he does not say that they were founded before 1648, and Scott, who conquered them in 1666, says distinctly that the colony "in the rivers Borowma, Wacopou, and Moroca" was settled by Zeelanders "from Tobago, anno 1650" (in Bronkhurst, p. 48). It is true that the name of New Zeeland appears earlier, according to the Zeeland Chamber, but it appears chiefly associated with the Essequibo, and as the name of a region or district rather than of a town, as is plain from a passage in

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this same Zeeland memorial, which also explains the origin of Nieuw Middelburg. (Kok, Vol. XIV, p. 409.) From what has been said, the memorialists declare, it will appear what pains the Zeelanders have expended on their fosterling, Nieuw Zeeland, and had it not been for the English war it would certainly have "become one of the most flourishing colonies in America, for one Cornelis Goliath had, in the year 1658, made and brought over a new map of the district and formed a plan to build a town, Nieuw Middelburg, there; but New Zeeland could not obtain that fortune, but by the sword of the enemy" became desolated ("een der florissanste volkplantingen van Amerika geworden, hebbende ten Jaare 1658 eenen Cornelis Goliath een nieuwe Kaart van die Landstreek gemaakt en overgebragt, en reeds en Plan geformeerd, om daar een Stad nieuw Middelburg te bouwen; dan Zelandia Nova heeft dit geluk niet mogen erlangen," etc.). At a later time Nieuw Zeeland was, I understand, the name of a town near the Pomeroon. As for "ter Hooge," the Zeeland petition of 1751, which Hartsinck quotes (p. 234), may be right in saying that in 1621 there was a Fort der Hooge on the Essequibo, and Hartsinck himself may also be right in saying (p. 259) that in 1666 there was a Huis ter Hooge on the Pomerun.[1]

In the "British Blue Book" (p. 56) a document is given, dated 1637, which gives information of the sacking and burning of Santo Thomé by a Dutch force from "Amacuro, Esquibo, and Berbis." I can only remark that, in the absence of the Spanish text, its meaning is uncertain, because in that period the names *Amacura* and *Moruga* were sometimes confounded. Thus in the French edition of De Laet ("Nouveau Monde," 1640) we read, on page 590, "Moruga (que les nostres nomment Ammegore)," and on page 602 "Amagore (que

[1] These matters have been cleared up by Professor Burr's researches. See his report.

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ie me doute estre celle qui est nommée par Keymis Amacur)," i. e., in the one case "Moruga, which our people call Ammegore," and in the other "Amagore, which I suspect to be that which Keymis calls Amacur." Both localities are within the disputed territory.[1]

V. THE QUESTION OF POINT BARIMA.

Hartsinck says, but without giving a date, that the Dutch formerly ("eertyds") had a post on this river (p. 257). The only evidence on the matter, with respect to the period before 1648, which I have anywhere found consists of the two following bits:

Fray Pedro Simon ("Noticias Historiales," p. 664) says that in 1619, or soon after, Geronimo de Grados went into the river Baruma, which is the first in those provinces where the Arwaccas inhabit (probably therefore the Barima), and compelled the natives to yield submission and to give him provisions. This is unfavorable to the notion of a Dutch occupation or post, as far as it goes.[2]

Father Pelleprat ("Relation des Missions," pt. 2, p. 112) says that the savages of the river Barima told him that they had already built a fort, in which the French might be lodged as soon as they had arrived ("Des Sauvages de Balime * * * me dirent de plus, qu'ils avoient déjà bâty un fort, dans lequel les François se pourroient loger aussi-tost qu'ils seroient arrivés"). This was some time between 1652 and 1655, and the same remark may be made with regard to it.

[1] The documents relating to the capture have now been printed at greater length, in translation, in the British Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 212–216; but the remark made above seems still to apply.

[2] Professor Burr presents good reasons for believing that not the Barima, but the Pomeroon, is here meant. See his report.

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It should be added that the maps which I have seen in no case indicate any towns or posts in this region prior to 1648 within the disputed boundaries.

The results of the investigation may be briefly summed up as follows: I find no evidence of any Spanish occupation of the disputed territory in 1648, nor of any but temporary occupation of any portion of it before that time. I find no certain evidence of any Dutch occupation in 1648 northward or westward of the Essequibo and Kykoveral, unless one thinks it proper to rely on the translation of Document No. 12 (with inclosure) in the "British Blue Book," page 56. I find no evidence of occupation of Point Barima before 1648.

Respectfully submitted.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

JUNE 11, 1896.

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REPORT

AS TO

THE MEANING OF ARTICLES V AND VI OF THE TREATY OF MÜNSTER.

BY

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

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REPORT AS TO THE MEANING OF ARTICLES V AND VI OF THE TREATY OF MÜNSTER.

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

I have been asked by the Commission to investigate and report as to the meaning of that clause in the Treaty of Münster between Spain and the Netherlands, signed January 30, 1648, which provides for the possession by the Spaniards and the Dutch, respectively, not only of "such lordships, cities, castles, fortresses, commerce, and countries in the East and West Indies, as also in Brazil and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, respectively, as the said Lords, the King and the States respectively, hold and possess," but also "comprehending therein particularly the places and forts which the Portuguese have taken from the Lords, the States, since the year 1641; *as also the forts and the places which the said Lords, the States, shall chance to acquire and possess after this, without infraction of the present Treaty*"; and of the kindred clause, in the following article, which provides that "among the places held by the said Lords, the States, shall be comprehended the places in Brazil which the Portuguese took out of the hands of the States, and have been in possession of ever since the year 1641. As also all the other places which they possess at present, so long as they shall continue in the hands of the

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said Portuguese, anything contained in the preceding Article notwithstanding."[1]

The question to which my attention is especially asked, whether these clauses gave the Dutch liberty to make fresh acquisitions in territory claimed by the Spaniards, but held by aborigines; or whether they applied only to lands held by the Portuguese.

In order to a conclusion, I have addressed my study to the following points:

1. What was meant by the words translated "forts and places"?

The treaty was drawn in French and in Dutch, the two versions being of equal authority.[2] The Dutch expected a controversy on this point, and instructed their envoys to meet a claim for the use of Spanish with an answering claim for the use of Dutch, but were prepared to concede the use of Spanish and French to the one side and of Dutch and French to the other, or to compromise by the use of Latin altogether. The Spaniards seem, however, to have made no difficulty on this point, but to have granted more than was asked (a course characteristic of the general policy of Spain in these negotiations); for it was agreed at Münster, May 5, 1646, "that all

[1] This translation into English, which is that printed in the British Blue-Book ("Venezuela No. 1," pp. 6, 7), is open, as will appear in the course of this report, to serious objections. It is borrowed, doubtless, from the standard old *Collection of all the Treaties . . . between Great Britain and other Powers* published at London in 1785 by Debrett. At least the translation there given (i, pp. 14, 15) is the same, save for a slight correction or two. The palpable error "upon" for "and on" (following "Brazil"), common to both, is corrected in the above transcript. There is also here omitted from their enumeration of "lordships, cities, castles, towns, fortresses, countries, and commerce," the word "towns," which has nothing answering to it in the original; and "commerce" is restored to its proper place, before "countries."

[2] *Aitzema, Saken van Staet en Oorlogh* ('s Gravenhage, 1671), vi, 2 (*Verhael van de Nederlandsche Vrede-Handeling*), p. 232. Cf. also Leclerc, *Négociations secrètes touchant la Paix de Munster* (La Haye, 1726), iv, p. 71.

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the writings which have to be made for the above-named present treaty shall be written *in the French and in the Flemish* [i. e., Dutch] language, and that the writing in these said two languages, yet only after being very exactly collated the one with the other, shall be held equally authentic. But in the conferences and speeches which have to be made orally, respectively, there may be used indiscriminately the French, the Flemish [i. e., Dutch], or the Latin language, according as one or another may for the greater convenience be able to make himself the better understood."

The clause in question is a part of Article V, and reads, in the French text:[1]

* * * *compris aussi les lieux et places qu'iceux Seigneurs Estats ci apres sans infraction du present Traitté viendront à conquerir et posseder.* * * *

And in the Dutch text:[2]

* * * *of de plaetsen die sy hier naemaels sonder infractie van't jegenwoordigh Tractaet sullen komen te verkrygen en te besitten.* * * *

The words "*lieux*" and "*places*," "*plaetsen*," are the most general and indefinite terms known to these languages for the expression of locality, and correspond wholly to the cognate English word "places." The French "*place*" might in certain contexts mean a "*place forte*," a fortress; but its translation by

[1] I transcribe carefully from the official text, printed by order of the States-General and by the official printers at The Hague in 1648. As given by Dumont (*Corps universel diplomatique*, Amsterdam, 1728, vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 430) and by others—mostly following him—the orthography varies slightly. The text here cited is in the library of the Department of State. Since writing these pages I have been able to examine, in the Dutch archives, the sumptuous official original of this treaty, both in its French and in its Dutch text, and can certify that the cardinal phrases here discussed stand in the manuscript precisely as in the printed editions. To be perfectly exact, the French text has over the preposition "*a*" an acute accent instead of a grave, and puts a comma after "*conquerir;*" but this is mere archaic usage.

[2] As printed in the official issue at The Hague, 1648; see note above. Aitzema's text (iii, p. 260; vi, 2, p. 387) varies slightly from this in spelling.

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the Dutch "*plaetsen*" makes that here out of the question. The English translation should therefore run, not "forts and places," but "places" alone.

A study of the use of these words in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Münster shows them commonly employed to denote towns rather than stretches of country; but this may be explained by the circumstances of each case, and further study has convinced me that no inference as to the character of the localities in thought can safely be based upon them.

2. What was meant by the words translated "acquire and possess"?

As already seen, the words answering to these in the official languages of the Treaty are the French "*conquérir et posséder*," the Dutch "*verkrygen en besitten.*" Of "*posséder*" and of "*besitten*" "possess" is a true and adequate translation; but the English "acquire" by no means answers to the French "*conquérir.*" The Dutch word "*verkrijgen,*" indeed, which originally and properly meant "to conquer," had already, as is evident from a study of contemporary documents, gained the broader meaning of "to acquire" in general, with which it is now currently used. But, as the word is here used as an equivalent to the French "*conquérir*" (rendered in the Spanish version by "*conquistar*"), it must, unless one is to suspect the Dutch of double dealing, have been meant in the more restricted sense.[1] "Conquer and possess" would therefore be a truer English translation; and the phrase would seem to imply rather a

[1] *Postscript.*—I may add that later study and my discussions with Dutch scholars have removed my hesitation to suspect sharp practice in the use of *verkrijgen* as the equivalent of *conquérir*. It now seems to me most plausible to conjecture that when the Dutch envoys found themselves unable to make the Spaniards accept in the French text of the treaty the true equivalent of *verkrijgen—acquérir*—they compromised by consenting to the use of *conquérir* in the French while retaining *verkrijgen* in the Dutch. Yet they must have known that, by a well-known principle of interpretation, the treaty could be binding only in its more restricted sense.

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seizure from another State than an occupation of lands held only by aborigines.

3. What "places" were in the thought of the parties to the treaty?

The only places suggested by the negotiations are those to be won back from the Portuguese in Brazil.

Thus, in the Spanish dispatches[1] relating to the Treaty of Münster, there is, from beginning to end, no mention of any other American possession in this connection.[2] It is clearly on the Dutch hostility to the Portuguese, occasioned by the loss of Brazil, and on the Dutch wish for a free hand in order to win back that colony, that Spain especially grounds her hope of coming to terms with the Netherlands.[3] Nor are the Dutch preliminaries less rich in evidence that this design was uppermost in the Dutch thought. Thus one sees the fleet destined for the relief of Brazil held back by the States-General pending the negotiations,[4] "that they may not enter into war with new enemies (friends and allies of France) while they are seeking to conclude a peace with the old enemy," but instructed to sail immediately on the completion of the treaty. And the French dispatches emphasize yet more this influence of the affairs of Brazil. At the very outset of the negotiations between Spain and the Dutch at Münster, Mazarin wrote to the French envoys:[5]

I have no occasion to say to you anything this time as to the ambassadors of the Netherlands and the negotiations which the Spaniards have begun with them, except that doubtless, among the motives which

[1]Printed in the great national *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vols. 82–84.

[2]Cf. e. g., vol. 82, pp. 281, 328, 381, 495; vol. 83, pp. 548, 573, 574.

[3]Cf. Aitzema, vi, 2, passim.

[4]Leclerc, *Négociations secrètes*, lv, pp. 402, 405.

[5]March 3, 1646. The letter is printed by Leclerc (*Négociations*, iii, pp. 102,103).

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they will use to try to win them, they will take advantage of the division existing between Portugal and Holland in the West Indies, offering the Dutch their aid against enemies more recent, and therefore more hated.

And this fear seemed to them confirmed by the event. The French even learned, in September, 1646, from their representatives in Holland, that the Spaniards were trying to hurry the Dutch into the treaty by alleging the existence of a league between France, Sweden, and Portugal at their cost.

It will be asked why, then, this clause should have been made general, instead of limiting the places to be "conquered and possessed" to the possessions of Portugal. The answer lies near that the Dutch had reason to fear that, in case of emergency, the Portuguese would hand over their Brazilian possessions to one of their allies, most probably to France; and that it was matter of life and death for the Dutch West India Company to win them back, whoever might hold them. It is highly suggestive of this that, as appears from the Spanish papers, the Dutch were unwilling,[1] even in the direst extremity, to send to Brazil any of the French troops in their service. And it is especially to be noted that when, at the completion of the treaty,[2] the Dutch States-General formally provided for its transmission to all their leading representatives abroad—"to the East and the West India Companies, also to the Governor-General in the East Indies, also to the President and Councilors and to the Lieutenant-General of the Forces in Brazil, also to Admiral De Witt, also to the Commander on the Coast of Guinea, also to the Directors in Loanda de St. Paulo and St. Thome, also to the Director in New Netherland"—there is no mention of Guiana or of any of its settlements.

[1] See letter of Philippe Le Roy to the Archduke, September 2, 1647, in the *Coleccion*, vol. 83, p. 459.

[2] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 383.

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On all these points the source and original intent of the articles in question has clearly an important bearing. So far as it can be traced in the printed documents left to us from the negotiations, their story is as follows.

Early in 1645 (January 27), when it had not yet been fully determined to enter into negotiations with Spain, and long before the envoys were actually sent to Münster, both the East and the West India Companies submitted to the States-General certain "considerations." Those of the West India Company were seven in number, and provided:

(1) That, "in case of the combination of the two Companies [which then seemed imminent], it would be more profitable for the combined Companies to continue the war, both in the East and the West Indies, the coast of Africa, Brazil, the South Sea, and other quarters south of the Tropic of Cancer or beyond the Equator than to make any peace or truce with the King of Spain."

(2) That, in case the Companies are not combined, the peace or truce with Spain, if accepted also by the East India Company, might be of use.

(3) That, in case of a general peace or truce, the Company should be guaranteed its faithful observance by Spain.

(4) That, in such peace or truce there should be included all powers, nations, and peoples with which the West India Company, within the limits of its grant, are in friendship and alliance.

(5) That the Company shall be allowed to push its trade in all places, within the aforesaid limits of its grant, where the King of Spain has no castles, jurisdiction, or territory (*casteelen, jurisdictie, noch gebiet*); and that with such merchandise, wares, slaves, and else as they shall see fit.

(6) That the subjects of Spain shall in no wise be permitted to travel or trade in any ports or places where the West

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India Company has any castles, forts, and territory, or lodges,[1] unless like trade privileges shall be granted to the aforesaid Company in all quarters and places belonging under the said King of Spain.

(7) That each party shall continue to possess and enjoy such cities, castles, fortresses, trading places, and lands as shall at the conclusion of the treaty belong [*competeren*] to each.

The plenipotentiaries of Spain were eventually given general powers to make such terms as they might find wise; but from the first[1] the Estates of Zeeland stoutly opposed the sending of Dutch envoys to Münster until the preliminary points to be submitted to Spain should have been definitely established; and this became the policy of the States-General. On October 28, 1645, there was adopted by them a very elaborate body of instructions, numbering no less than 116 articles.

Of these the eleventh prescribed that the subjects of Spain and Holland, respectively, should have the right of free travel and traffic in all the European possessions of each, and in such extra-European possessions as are open to their other allies; and that, "as regards the places, cities, ports, and harbors which they hold outside the aforesaid limits, the aforesaid States [of the Netherlands] and their subjects shall not carry on any traffic without the express permission of the said King [of Spain]. But they [the Dutch] shall be permitted, if they choose, to carry on traffic in the lands of all other princes, potentates, and peoples who shall allow them to do so (even outside the aforesaid limits); and neither the aforesaid King, nor his officers and subjects, shall on this

[1] This word "*logien*" already needed definition, and is explained in the discussions of the Estates of Holland to mean *warehouses*. ["*Dat is Packhuysen, daer uyt de Koopmanschappen ende Waren worden verkocht.*"]

[2] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 187, 198, 199.

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account do any harm to the princes, potentates, and peoples who allow or shall allow the same, nor likewise to themselves [the Dutch] nor to the indviduals with whom they carry on or shall carry on the aforesaid traffic."

There had followed this two articles[1] relating to the trade of the Indies. These had, however, been canceled on October 14. Yet they are printed with the rest and prescribe:

(1) That the Spaniards shall retain their trade (*vaert*) in the East Indies as it exists at present, but shall not be allowed to extend it further, and shall also keep out of the Portuguese possessions in the Indies, having no right to trade there; and likewise the inhabitants of these lands [the Netherlands] shall have no communication with the Spanish or Portuguese East Indies.

(2) That the monopoly of the two India companies shall be guaranteed, and that "there shall be included in the treaty all the potentates, nations, and peoples with whom the States-General or the West India Company, within the limits of their grant, are in friendship and alliance; and this Company may push its trade and traffic in all places within the limits of its grant where the King of Spain has no castles, jurisdiction, or territory, and that with such merchandise, wares, slaves, and else as they shall see fit, and the subjects of the said King of Castile shall in no wise be permitted to trade or travel in any ports or places where the West India Company has castles, forts, territory, or lodges,[2] unless the Castilians shall grant like trade privileges in all quarters and places belonging under the King of Castile. . . . And each shall continue to possess and enjoy such cities, castles, fortresses, trade, and lands in the West Indies and Brazil as, at the conclusion of the treaty to be made, shall belong to each. . "

[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 205, 206.

[2] Warehouses.

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At the end of these canceled articles are inserted the following substitutes:

XII. This foregoing article was found to be faulty. . . .
XIII. The navigation and traffic of the Indies, respectively, shall be maintained.

And there was prefaced the somewhat incoherent explanation that "when and how the plenipotentiaries shall later be instructed on this point shall in due time follow."

Armed with these instructions,[1] the Dutch deputies reached Münster in January, 1646. The Spaniards suggested[2] as a basis for negotiation the terms of the twelve years' truce between Holland and Spain in 1609. But the Dutch insisted on their instructions, and on May 17 submitted to the Spanish envoys a preliminary draft, in 71 articles, of the proposed treaty. It was ultimately adopted almost word for word.

There is in it, however, no mention of the Indies, the provisional Article V running as follows:

V. Be it understood that the foregoing shall be without prejudice, and it is expressly reserved, hereafter to submit certain articles touching the navigation and traffic of the East and West Indies, which it is agreed to uphold and maintain.

But these articles were so long delayed[3] by the home government that the Dutch plenipotentiaries grew impatient[4] and "meanwhile wrote repeatedly and asked for the two articles touching the commerce in the East and West Indies which in October last were stricken out of the instructions."

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[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 216.

[2] Dispatch of Peñaranda, in the *Coleccion*, vol. 82, p. 310. Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 234.

[3] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 245; cf. p. 246, at end, and the formal request on p. 249.

[4] The impatience of the Spaniards is clear from the letters of Peñaranda (cf. especially *Coleccion*, vol. 82, pp. 339, 342, 345). Already on May 31 he writes: "We have agreed with the Dutch on every point except that relating to the Prince of Orange and that of the navigation of the Indies." Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 265.

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At last, on November 20, 1646, the States-General referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Boreel, Cats, Stavenesse, and the secretary, Musch, these canceled articles, with power "to frame and revise them in such fashion that they may find place in the aforesaid instructions, and also among the seventy articles" (of the treaty). On the following day this committee reported back[1] these articles "so revised and framed that they may now fitly find place among the adjusted seventy articles according to the wish of their High-Mightinesses" (the States) "excepting only the *alternative* named by the aforesaid canceled articles, which alternative might be given the plenipotentiaries by separate resolution, to be used according to circumstances in the cases therein described." The States accordingly took the matter into consideration, and, discharging their committee, resolved to add the following alternative:

Yet, in case of the rejection of the above stipulations, shall both the subjects of the above-named King [of Spain] and the inhabitants of this state [the Dutch] restrain themselves from travel and traffic in the ports and places occupied [*beset*] by the one or the other of the parties with forts, lodges, or castles; and, in case there are set before the ambassadors of the States considerations contrary to those above expressed, they shall give notice thereof to their High-Mightinesses [the States], who can then communicate with the authorities of the one or the other Company, or of both, regarding the matter.

The deputies of Zeeland,[2] however, urged that, "in case it can not be gained from the Spaniards that there shall be reciprocal traffic and communication each in the other's lands, in that case it shall be stipulated not only that the Spaniards shall keep out of all the places occupied, by and in the name of this state, in the West Indies and Brazil, together with those which have been taken from the West India Company by the Portuguese, and shall not come into these with military force

[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 266. [2] Aitzema, vi. 2, p. 267.

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or to carry on trade and business; but shall also keep out of such places as are there possessed by the Portuguese."

This proposition[1] was, after discussion, reserved for further consideration and to be submitted for advice to the next meeting of the provincial Estates of Holland (i. e., the province of that name).

The articles[2] regarding the West Indies were presented at Münster, December 13, 1646, and met with violent opposition from the Spanish plenipotentiaries, such as had befallen no other of the Dutch demands. They declared that these articles[3] were novelties wholly unknown to the negotiations thus far, and that their provisions, "especially that they of the West India Company and others should have free access and traffic everywhere in the West Indies," were contrary to the fundamental maxims of Spain; that such terms had not only never been granted to Great Britain or Denmark or any foreign power, but not even to the subjects of the King of Spain himself, in Aragon, Portugal, or the Spanish Netherlands; that such terms could not and would not be granted; and, if they were insisted on, the negotiations must stop. And, in several successive conferences[4] (December 15, 16, 17, 18, 19), the Dutch envoys "were met, on the points touching the East and West India Companies, with very many difficulties, so that they almost despaired of carrying the affair through, since the Spaniards showed themselves so sensitive in this matter that they debated or balanced almost every word."

Long before, in fact, the Spaniards had received explicit

[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 267.

[2] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 270. Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, pp. 467, 468.

[3] Peñaranda had been assured by the Dutch envoy, Knuyt, that the demands of the Dutch on this point would not be inordinate. See his letter to Castel-Rodrigo of May 28, 1646 (*Coleccion*, vol. 82, p. 339).

[4] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 270. Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 468. Aitzema makes the discussions close on the 18th.

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instructions on this point from their home government; for on July 8, 1646, Peñaranda had written the King of Spain,[1] in the very letter inclosing the preliminaries already agreed on:

In the [matter] of the commerce of the Indies we have the instruction by which we are to govern ourselves, and Your Majesty shall be at once informed of what is ratified, without its being subject to any new revision of ours. [. . . "*en el [articulo] del comercio de las Indias tenemos la instruccion con que nos habemos de gobernar, ya*[2] *Vuestra Majestad estará informado de lo que ratifica, sin que esto quede sujedo a nuevo arbitrio nuestro.*"]

Yet Article V,[3] which had been submitted by the Dutch envoys in precisely the form in which they had received it from the States-General, was finally adopted with but one or two very slight modifications. In their reply of December 15 (as printed by Leclerc, iii, pp. 467, 470) the Spanish ambassadors had argued only:

As to the 5th[4] [article], that the Dutch may recover all that the Portuguese have taken from them in Brazil, the right remaining to His Majesty [the King of Spain] over all he had there when the revolt of Portugal began.

But the Dutch answered,[5] in their reply drawn up on the 16th and 17th:

ARTICLE V. Nothing can be changed in the contents of the article; so it must stay as we have put it. ("*On ne peut rien changer au contenu de l'Article, ains doit demeurer comme nous l'avons mis.*")

[1] *Coleccion*, vol. 82, p. 381. This passage is also quoted (*verbatim*, save for the change to indirect discourse) in the *Consulta* of the Spanish Council of State, held at Saragossa, August 12, 1646. (*Coleccion*, vol. 82, pp. 401, 402.)

[2] As quoted by the Council of State, this becomes "*y*".

[3] Cf. the Dutch text of the instructions of the States-General (given by Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 264), with the French text of the articles submitted at Münster on December 13, 1646 (given by Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 468), and both with the finished treaty.

[4] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 469.

[5] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 470.

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And, finally, at the close of their five days' conference, on the 19th, the minute as to this article is:

ARTICLE 5. Agreed, excepting that the Spaniards reject the clause "without being at liberty to go further" ("*sans se pouvoir étendre plus avant*").

This last point was, however, later conceded by the Spaniards, and the phrase remained part of the treaty. But their first objection seems to have been at least partially met by inserting in the clause, "which the Portuguese have taken from the Lords, the States," the restricting phrase, "since the year 1641."

Less simple is the question as to the (to us) all-important clause regarding "the forts and places which the said Lords, the States, shall chance to acquire and possess after this." This passage first appears in the revised instructions given the envoys by the States-General in November, 1646, and in its original Dutch reads precisely as in the text of the completed treaty. But in the French text of this article, as submitted to the French envoys in December, and as printed by Leclerc (in his *Négociations secrètes*, iii, p. 468—probably from a draft in the French archives), one reads, not the word "*conquerir*," as in the published treaty, but "*acquerir*."

Yet it could hardly have been this reading which was in the hands of the French envoys at Münster, when, in the same dispatch to Mazarin[1] wherein they report that the Dutch plenipotentiaries "tell us that, as regards the three points of the treaty not yet agreed on, the Spaniards have granted them that of the Indies just as they have asked it" (*en la sorte qu'ils l'avoient demandé*), they make this most significant comment:[2]

Another thing which gives us food for thought is the yielding of the Spaniards in the matter of the Indies, which is beyond doubt one of

[1] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 391. [2] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 393.

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the most important articles of the whole treaty, in which the Dutch find an advantage which they had not hoped, and which has not been granted them without some extraordinary motive. The King of Spain consents to be no longer at liberty to extend his boundaries in the East Indies, and to limit them to what he occupies at present; and the conquests which may be made by the United Provinces shall remain theirs, whether over the natives of the country or over the Portuguese, whatever may be the event of the war of the said King of Spain against the King of Portugal. This would seem a conspiracy clearly made between them to despoil this latter [the King of Portugal], in order that, while the Castilians drive him from the continent [i. e., of Europe], he may lose also what he holds in the Indies by means of the Dutch, who as merchants, with whom interest is all-powerful, could not be more flattered by the Spaniards than by leaving them the opportunity and the hope of making so great a profit. And, as the ministers of Spain have shown in this much servility and submissiveness, there is room to fear that the price of this abandonment is not alone the ruin of Portugal, but that there has been besides a secret promise to come to terms without France, it being certain that three days earlier Peñaranda had declared that they would sooner risk everything than yield this point.

Yet it should be added that these same French envoys had, six months earlier (14 June, 1646), written home[1] that "The gentlemen whom we sent to M. de la Thuillerie [French minister at The Hague] is back, and tells us it is the opinion of the said Sieur de la Thuillerie that the affair of the Indies may hinder a long time. But that is not the belief of our friends here, who think that the Spaniards will pass over this point blindly, as over the others, and especially so, as since the change of Portugal they have had no more interest in the Indies." However, on August 31 they had learned from Mazarin, *à propos* of the arrival at Paris of a Spanish courier sent to the envoys at Münster:

It is not known whether this courier may not bear orders to the plenipotentiaries of Spain to go further and grant the States the point of the commerce of the Indies; but we have been assured from divers

[1] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, p. 216; cf. also p. 222.

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quarters that up to the present Castel-Rodrigo and Peñaranda have had precise orders not to yield on that point, and to do nothing about it beyond what was granted in the last truce [that of 1609]; to which we are assured the said States will in no wise consent.

As to Article VI,[1] it was first submitted in the first of the alternative forms suggested by the States-General—that granting the Dutch freedom of traffic in the Spanish colonies; and, when the Spaniards would not hear to this, then in the second of the alternative forms. But if one may trust Leclerc's draft, there was here, too, appended to the phrase "including the places which the Portuguese have taken from the States and occupied" the words "and those which the said States, without infraction of the present [treaty] shall hereafter come to acquire and possess" ["*viendront a acquerir et posseder*"]. But, as finally agreed on,[2] December 19, 1646, it lacks this phrase and is identical in form with the article of the completed treaty.

When, however, on January 8, 1647,[3] these articles, as adopted at Münster, were submitted to the Dutch States-General, and by them to the several provinces,[4] there came a storm of suggestions and objections. Of these, the only ones throwing light on the points now under consideration are certain emanating from the Estates of Zeeland.[5] This body urged that Article VI ought to be amplified, even beyond the original instructions, so as to provide "*that the Spaniards generally must keep out of all the places which the Portuguese possess within the limits* [*of the grant*] *of the West India Company.*"

On the other hand, the words "as also all the other places" "can not and must not be permitted, lest therefrom it should

[1] Leclerc, *Négociations*, iii, pp. 468–471.
[2] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 272, 273; cf. Leclerc, iii, p. 471.
[3] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 272, 273.
[4] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 297–309.
[5] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 306.

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come to follow that the King of Spain possesses in the Indies places where he has no castles, forts, or lodges, and thereby should be corroborated the claim of the aforesaid King that he having, by virtue of gift from the Pope, title to the West Indies, and not allowing that anybody without his permission should therein travel and trade, is in possession and control of the whole thereof."

That is to say, the Dutch must not tolerate so much as an implication that Spain can give away lands held only by the natives.

The Zeelanders objected, too, to the limiting phrases "since the year 1641," "so long as they shall continue in the hands of the Portuguese," and "anything contained in the preceding article notwithstanding." This last phrase, they understand, is insisted on by the Spaniards in order to prevent the East and the West India Companies from pleading the liberties given them by their charter, under Article V of the treaty; but these charter rights might better be expressly limited, and such a limiting clause is submitted.

But even more suggestive, perhaps, is the form of a new Article VI presented by the Estates of Zeeland to the States-General for substitution in the treaty.[1] In it the clauses now in point run as follows: . . . "that the subjects of the said King [of Spain] shall not traffic nor anywise travel in the ports and places which the said States have and possess within the district of the West India Company, therein being specially included the places by the Portuguese from this state taken and occupied, together with those which the aforesaid States shall hereafter, without infraction of the present treaty, come to acquire [*verkrygen*] and possess, and further, in general, all other places which the Crown of Portugal or any

[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, p. 307.

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Portuguese, within the aforesaid district of the West India Company, now holds and possesses."

As everything points to the Estates of Zeeland or to their deputies in the States-General as the most zealous promoters of the provisions of the treaty touching the West Indies, this clear intimation that the Portuguese possessions alone were in their thought in framing the questioned clauses should be of use in the interpretation of the treaty.

But, on discussion of all these suggestions by the States-General,[1] in the session of May 18, 1647, it seems to have been felt best to abide by what had already been gained; and the articles were eventually ratified without further change.

By this historical survey it has been made clear, I think, that the questioned clause came originally from the West India Company itself or from its sponsors; that, after sharp scrutiny, it was accepted by the Spanish envoys precisely as it was submitted, save for a possible (but, if actual, most significant) change of "*acquérir*" to "*conquérir;*" that, in the minds of its authors, it had reference only to possessions of the Portuguese; but that, already in the minds of the French diplomats, and possibly in the intent of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, it was susceptible of ambiguous interpretation. The points of most interest in this history will doubtless be found the comments of the French envoys on the one hand and the suggestions of the Zeeland Estates on the other.[2]

[1] Aitzema, vi, 2, pp. 317–319.

[2] *Postscript.*—Since submitting this report I have had opportunity, in the Dutch archives at The Hague, to examine the original manuscript records of the Münster negotiations. But neither in the six thick volumes containing the *procès-verbal* of the Dutch envoys nor in the four containing the action of the States-General relative to the treaty did my somewhat hurried search reveal anything of importance to the West India question which was not long ago printed by Aitzema or by Leclerc. For the correctness of these scholars as to the data of chief interest to us I can, however, now vouch.

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4. What was the policy of the Dutch as to recognizing a right of any other power to lands still occupied only by natives?

What was the feeling of the Estates of Zeeland has been shown above. But it was notoriously the general attitude of the Dutch—especially after their great publicist, Hugo Grotius, early in the seventeenth century, had in his *Mare liberum* impugned the basis of Spanish and Portuguese claims. More even than did other Europeans, they sought their title from the natives themselves. Their relations with the aborigines of the Guiana coast seem from the first to have been those of friendship and alliance; and, though no specific treaties have been adduced, still less is there anywhere implication, in the accessible Dutch sources, of a claim derived from Spain. Of the relations of the Dutch with the Indians the Spaniards were constantly complaining, and specific illustration is perhaps unnecessary.

5. Was this provision of the treaty ever appealed to by the Dutch in support of aggressions on territory claimed by the Spaniards?

Throughout the century and a half of their neighborhood in South America—a period filled with reciprocal aggressions and complaints—I have as yet found no instance of appeal to this clause of the treaty by the Dutch. For the present purpose it may be enough to point out that no such instance is cited by the British Blue Books.[1]

[1] *Postscript.*—Having, since the submission of this report, made search, in the Dutch archives, through the whole of the diplomatic correspondence between the Netherlands and Spain during this period, and also through the papers of the States-General and of the West India Company, I am able to affirm this position with much greater positiveness. To other clauses of the treaty I find the Dutch appealing; to this never. The Spaniards, however, once appealed to it, and the case is an interesting one. It was in 1688. The Spanish ambassador laid before the States-General

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Yet it may, of course, be replied that, while the Dutch might be unwilling, by urging such a claim, to admit Spanish rights over unsettled territory, Spain might still be estopped by the clause from resenting their encroachments.

6. *How have later historians and diplomatists interpreted this clause?*

In the multitude of authorities I have consulted I have found as yet no other interpretation than that it refers to Portuguese possessions. Most, indeed, dismiss the article with a mere passing mention; and their evidence can be counted, therefore, at best, but negative. Two, however, offer something more.

Jacques Basnage, theologian and historian, was one of the foremost trained diplomatists of Holland in the early eighteenth century. His share was large in the negotiation of the Treaty of Utrecht, which reaffirmed the provisions of the Treaty of

(January 16, 1688) a complaint regarding an alleged project of certain Dutchmen at Amsterdam and elsewhere to establish in America, "in the neighborhood of the great river of Darien," a "free port in the form of a new commonwealth." This region, claimed the ambassador, belonged notoriously to the King his master, and was in his possession; wherefore "this would be in direct violation of Article V of the Treaty of Peace" of 1648, "which treaty," he adds, "is observed religiously by both parties." Thereupon, after six months' inquiry and deliberation, the States-General replied (July 27, 1688) that the projectors in question had in view nothing which was contrary to the treaty, and would take no action at all without the permission of the States-General; moreover, that before granting this permission the States-General would find out whether the enterprise were in any way in conflict with Article V or any other article of the Treaty of Münster, and in that case would wholly forbid it. And nothing more is heard of the project. (See, for the documents in this episode, vol. ii of the report of the Commission, pp. 183-187.)

Had the Dutch been disposed to invoke the Treaty of Münster against Spanish aggressions, they surely could have had no more tempting occasion than was given by the assaults on the Essequibo posts during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Yet I find neither in the protests of the West India Company and of the States-General nor in the diplomatic correspondence with Spain any allusion to that treaty. Once, indeed (September 2, 1754), the governor of the Essequibo colony asked the Company if the boundary between Holland and Spain in Guiana were not regulated by the Treaty of Münster; but they were obliged to reply (January 6, 1755) that neither in that treaty nor in any other could they find anything about it.

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Münster. Just at the close of his life he published at The Hague his huge *Annals of the United Provinces*, and in it he subjects the Treaty of Münster to careful analysis.[1] "By the third article," he says, "each was to preserve its property." And then, a little after, speaking of the fifth, "The same thing was to hold in the Indies, both East and West. And included therein were the towns which the States-General had taken in Brazil from the Portuguese since 1641; or which they should take in future" [*La même chose devoit s'observer aux Indes tant Orientales qu' Occidentales. Et on y comprenoit les Villes que les États-Généraux avoient ocupés* [*sic*] *au Brésil sur les Portugais depuis l'an 1641; ou qu'ils ocuperoient* [*sic*] *à l'avenir*]. The error as to the condition of things in Brazil is palpable; but the interpretation of the treaty is none the less clear.

And the Comte de Garden, perhaps the best known of the general historians of diplomacy, in his *General History of Treaties of Peace*, writes:[2]

> By this Article [V] Spain abandoned to the Dutch all the conquests which they had made over the Portuguese in the different parts of the world while Portugal was a province of the Spanish monarchy. This sacrifice was not great on the part of the Spaniards; since 1640 they had vainly been striving to subject Portugal, and they could consequently flatter themselves little with the hope of recovering these distant possessions. So they made no difficulty about ceding also to the Dutch, by this same Article V, their rights to all the forts and places which the Portuguese had taken from them, since 1641, in Brazil, and likewise also to the forts and places which the Dutch could conquer thereafter without infringing the present treaty—that is to say, which they could conquer from the Portuguese in the Indies and in America" [* * * *"de même que sur les lieux et places que les Hollandais pourraient conquérir dans la suite, sans infraction au présent traité, c'est-à-dire qu'ils pourraient conquérir sur les Portugais, aux Indes et en Amérique"*].

[1] Basnage, *Annales des Provinces-Unies* (La Haye, 1726), vol. i, p. 102.
[2] Garden, *Histoire générale des Traités de Paix*, vol. i, pp. 168, 169.

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Postscript.—I am happy to be able to add what amounts to an official Spanish exposition of this article of the treaty of Münster. When, toward the close of the eighteenth century, Spain grew impatient of the fetters put upon her trade in the East Indies by the clause of this article forbidding her "to go further," and when her efforts on behalf of her Philippine Company were met by protest from the Netherlands, she tried to stir Dutch generosity by pointing out in detail the greatness of her own concessions in this treaty. Thus argue the Spanish diplomatists in their memorial transmitted to the Dutch States-General on December 4, 1786:

"The condition of affairs in the two Indies, and especially in the East, when the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia were begun, was as follows: The Dutch wished by that Treaty to retain not only all the conquests they had made in the Indies, but even, with the help of Spain, to obtain and secure a right to the reconquest of what had been conquered from them under the new Portuguese Government. In point of fact Spain alone, by reason of her rights to the Crown of Portugal, could have a right to the conquests belonging to that Crown in the East and West Indies; and hence it was Spain which could concede these to the States-General of the United Provinces. Inspired by that aim, the Dutch plenipotentiary sought, in the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Westphalia, or Münster, to win over the Spanish plenipotentiaries to the expediting of the Peace, cajoling them with the plea that the Portuguese, if attacked in the Indies by the subjects of the United Netherlands, would be the less able to defend themselves in the Spanish peninsula, and thereby the conquest of Portugal would be the easier for Spain.

"France, which on the one hand had supported the revolt and independence of the Netherlanders, and on the other hand had aided and abetted that of the Portuguese, was startled by the negotiations carried on between the Dutch and Spanish envoys. France and Holland had agreed not to make peace the one without the other; but the French plenipotentiary, the Comte d'Avaux, found out that the Dutch deputies had almost completed their Treaty, and they confessed to him that the three points which had remained unsettled were nearly arranged.

The first of these points was that *Spain should restrict her limits in*

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the East Indies to those which she then possessed, conceding or leaving to the Dutch *the conquests* in all the remainder; and out of this arose the alienation of the French plenipotentiary."

The Spanish memorial then quotes in full the significant passage from the letter to Mazarin,[1] and resumes its argument thus:

"From this passage it is very clearly to be seen that the sole object and thought of Holland in the Congress of Münster, as regards the East Indies, was to obtain from Spain an agreement not to extend her limits there; *to restrict herself to what she then occupied and to leave to the Dutch the conquests* which they might be able to win from the Portuguese, without thought of forbidding the Spaniards to carry on their trade by whatever route might suit them. This same object is that which appears with the utmost clearness in Article V of the Treaty of Münster. . . .

"The second point agreed on was that Spain and the States-General should remain in possession of what they respectively occupied at the time of the treaty in both the East and the West Indies, as also in Brazil and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America; this point follows literally the provision in Articles III and IV of the truce of 1609 and in the instructions of the Spanish plenipotentiaries. The third point was that the States-General should preserve their possession and rights as to the forts and places which the Portuguese had taken from them since the year 1641, as also to the forts and places which the said States shall come to conquer there hereafter ['*llegassen a conquistar de alli adelante*'] *without infraction of the present Treaty.* This exorbitant concession made by Spain to Holland was that which the [French] plenipotentiaries in the Congress of Münster complained of, as we have quoted in the words of the historian of the Peace of Westphalia; but it is to be noted that, according to this same Article V, the navigation, traffic, possession, and rights of conquest conceded to the States-General must be *without infraction of the present Treaty*, which is the same as to say that they must not conflict with the navigation, traffic, possession, and rights reserved likewise to Spain in both the Indies and on the coasts of Africa, Asia, and America. . . . Spain was to retain by this article all that she possessed on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, and all the rights which on these coasts have

[1] Printed on pp. 86, 87, above.

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pertained or do pertain to the Crown, except what was taken and occupied by the Portuguese from the States-General. . . . The Dutch plenipotentiaries strenuously urged the permanent sanction, by a treaty framed for the navigation of the East and West Indies, of what Spain and Portugal had, up to the temporary concession in the Truce of 1609, refused and opposed, obtaining at Münster the enormous concession that they should acquire as their own their new conquests, receiving under certain circumstances those made by Spain." ["*obteniendo en Munster la condecendencia exorbitante de que adquiriessen privativamente las Nuevas Conquistas dexando las hechas a la España en tales circunstancias.*"]

Grave are these concessions, and significant the quotation, without a word of protest, of that comment of the French envoys[1] which puts the widest interpretation upon this clause of the Treaty of Münster; but it is still clear that, even as a basis for an appeal to Dutch generosity, the Spaniards are not themselves disposed to accord it so broad a meaning. Answer from the Dutch side to this document there is none to be found in the records.[2]

It seems fair, then, to conclude that:

1. It is improbable that, in the intent of its framers and its ratifiers, the Treaty of Münster conceded to the Dutch a right to win from the natives lands claimed by Spain.

2. It does not appear that it was ever interpreted in this sense by either Spain or the Dutch.

GEORGE L. BURR.

WASHINGTON, *April, 1896.*

[1] See page 87 above.

[2] The Spanish original of this memorial, as transmitted by the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, may be found in the Dutch Rijksarchief at the Hague among the diplomatic correspondence of Fagel, Secretary of the States-General, in the volume marked "*Spanje: Secrete Brieven*, 1756–1796." A Dutch translation of the whole document, but without the Spanish original, may be fouud printed in the *Secrete Resolutien* of the Estates of Holland, under January 19, 1787. The clauses italicized in the translation above given are, of course, thus italicized in the manuscript.

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REPORT

AS TO

THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY.

BY

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

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REPORT AS TO THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY.

By George Lincoln Burr.

In the course of the controversy over the Guiana boundary it has been alleged (1) that the charters of the Dutch West India Company named the river Orinoco as one of the limits of its grant, and (2) that within the limits of the grant these charters gave territorial jurisdiction.

Thus the British Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1" states (p. 5):

> In 1621 the Charter of the Dutch West India Company was granted by the States-General. . . . This Charter, reaffirmed in 1637, gave the Orinoco as the limit of the Company's territorial jurisdiction.

And again (p. 7):

> After the Treaty of Münster, fresh regulations were again issued by the States-General to the Dutch West India Company, in which the Orinoco is again treated as the limit of its jurisdiction.

And yet again (p. 8):

> In 1674 the Charter of the West India Company was renewed, and in the preamble the Colonies of Essequibo and Pomeroon were enumerated, the limit of the Company's jurisdiction being still fixed at the river Orinoco.

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To determine the grounds for these statements, and to learn what more in the grants to the Company might be pertinent to this question, I have, at the request of the Commission, made a careful study of the charters of the Company and of all the legislation of the States-General in its behalf, so far as printed in the great official collection of the States-General's acts.[1]

I. AS TO LIMITS.

The Company received its first charter on June 3, 1621. This charter consists of forty-five articles. The only specification of limits is in Article I, whereby all outside the Company are prohibited from travel and trade ("*te varen, ofte negotieren, ofte eenigerhande traffijcq te drijven*") "to the coasts and lands of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, or, furthermore, to the lands of America, beginning from the south end of Newfoundland through the straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and passages lying thereabout, to the Straits of An Jan [corresponding to our Bering Strait],[2] whether

[1]The *Groot Placaat-Boek*. This is the one source cited by the English Blue Book (save that, for the charter of 1674, it names only the "*Nederl. Jaer-Boek*" of 1750). The copy I have used of the *Groot Placaat-Boek* is that in the Astor Library, printed at The Hague, by the public printer, at intervals from 1658 to 1746, and breaking off with Volume VI at the year 1740. These volumes contain the legislation of the States-General from the begiuniug, together with many earlier documents (from 1097 on) bearing on the history of the Netherlands, and they include the most important acts of the provincial Estates of Holland and of Zeeland, as well as those of the States-General—though, alas, not the entire legislation of any of these bodies. The work is very fully indexed; but I have not trusted the index alone.

Since completing this paper I have studied at Albany (in the State Library) the remainder of this series to 1794, together with a full set of the printed minutes of the Estates of Holland; and at The Hague and in Middelburg have been able to consult the manuscript originals of these records. I have found, however, to supplement or modify the conclusions of this paper, nothiug of importance.

[2]Strictly speaking, the Strait of An Jan is not laid down on the old maps at the same point as our Bering Strait; but that is only because the northern Pacific was unknowu. As it was the strait supposed to divide America from Asia, it exactly coiucides with Bering Strait as a limit.

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to the North Sea or to the South Sea, or to any of the islands on the one side or on the other or lying between the two; or, moreover, to the Australian and southern lands, stretching and lying between the meridians of the Cape of Good Hope on the east, and on the west the east end of New Guinea, inclusive."[1]

It will be seen that there is here no mention of the Orinoco, nor indeed of any other American limit between Newfoundland on the one coast and Bering Strait on the other. The charter was meant, that is, to include the entire coast of America.

Six days later, on June 9, 1621, there was again issued, by itself, this edict of prohibition,[2] the specification of limits being couched in precisely the same terms as in the charter. On June 10, 1622, the salt trade within the Company's limits, which had not at first been included in their monopoly,[3] was added to it; but the limits are themselves not specified, save by reference to the earlier documents. The main objective point of this salt trade was *beyond* the Orinoco—at Punta de Araya, near Cumaná.[4] On November 26, 1622, these prohibitions of June 9, 1621, and June 10, 1622, had to be renewed; but the territorial limits are not again specified.

On February 13, 1623, the charter was slightly amplified;[5] but there was no change of limits, and therefore no mention

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, cols. 565–578. Cf. Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, vol. i, pp. 62–66, where the charter is also printed in full; as also in Tjassens, *Zee-Politie* ('s Gravenhage, 1670), pp. 305–317.

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 577–580. There is in the Library of Congress an official contemporary impression of this Placaat ("in 's Gravenhage, by Hillebrant Iacobssz." 1621). It is from this that I have transcribed the extract above.

[3] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 579–582. It is printed also by Aitzema, i, pp. 66, 67, and in part by Tjassens, pp. 317, 318.

[4] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 581–584.

[5] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 583–586. Also in Aitzema, i, p. 67, and in Tjassens, pp. 318, 319.

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of these. Nor were they mentioned in the prohibition of May 24, 1624,[1] which forbade emigration or transport of emigrants save through the Company. And the form of government promulgated on October 13, 1629,[2] for the territorial acquisitions of the Company is equally without definition of limits.

In thinking the charter "reaffirmed in 1637" the English Blue Book is in error. Granted for twenty-four years, it did not expire till 1645. Even then it was not at once renewed, for its friends sought strenuously the consolidation of the West India Company with the East, whose charter had also just run out.[3] It was not until July 4, 1647, that the States-General promulgated the intelligence that on March 20 preceding they had prolonged for another quarter-century the charter of the West India Company. The limits were unchanged, and are not restated. When at the end of 1671 the charter again expired,[4] it was thrice renewed for periods of eight months at a time, pending discussion, and naturally without any mention of territorial limits.

The fate of the old Company had long been sealed, and on September 20, 1674, the States-General created by charter an entirely new one.[5] Its territorial limits were vastly narrower; "To wit, that within the period of this current century, and thereafter to the year 1700,[6] inclusive, no native or subject of these lands shall, otherwise than in the name of this United Company, be at liberty to sail or trade to the coasts and lands

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 595–598.

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, ii, cols. 1235–1248.

[4] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i. Also in Aitzema, and in Tjassens, pp. 337, 338.

[3] December 24, 1671; August 27, 1672; March 30, 1673. See the *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iii, pp. 1329, 1330.

[5] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iii, pp. 1331–1343. The official contemporary impression of The Hague, 1674, is in the Library of Congress, and it is that which I here transcribe.

[6] The worthy legislators evidently counted the year 1700 a part of the next century.

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of Africa, reckoning from the Tropic of Cancer to the latitude of thirty degrees south of the Equator, including all the islands in that district lying on the aforesaid coasts, and especially the islands St. Thomas, Annebon, Isle de Principe, and Fernando Polo, together with the places [*plaetsen*] of Essequibo and Pomeroon, lying on the continent of America, and also the islands Curaçao, Aruba, and Buonaire" (. . . "*midts-gaders de plaetsen van Isekebe ende Bauwmerona aen het vaste Landt van America gelegen, als mede de Eylanden Curaçao, Aruba ende Buonaire*"). And that is all. Elsewhere in the old domain anybody might now trade.[1]

On November 30, 1700, this charter was renewed for thirty years more (to date from January 1, 1701), without change or restatement of limits;[2] and again, on August 8, 1730, for another thirty years (to date from January 1, 1731), still without change or restatement.[3] At the end of 1760 it was again renewed for a single year without change of limits, and on

[1] *Postscript.*—This charter had been long in process of creation. As early as June 7, 1669, it was under discussion in the provincial estates of Holland, the limits then suggested being precisely those later adopted. On April 2, 1674, this provincial body submitted to the States-General another draft, in which to the two places on the American mainland, Essequibo and Pomeroon, was added New Netherland (which the Amsterdamers still hoped to regain from the English), and also a provision that the new West India Company might retain "such further places and districts on the American mainland as it should take actual possession of by the creation of forts, warehouses, or established trade" ("*ende de verdere plaetsen ende districten aen het vaste Lant van America gelegen, dewelcke inde Octroye aende voorgaende West Inde Compe vergunt ende mede onder denselven Limiten gecomprehendeert geweest sijn, voor so veel dese nieuwe Generale West Inde Compe vande voorgenoemde verdere plaetsen ende districten dadelijcke possessie door het maken van forten, Logien ofte gestabilieerden handel, komt te nemen, en te behouden*"). But, in the new draft submitted by the Estates of Holland on August 13, 1674, this interesting supplementary clause has dropped out. In those earlier forms, no more than in the finished charter, is there the slightest mention of the Orinoco. (See the printed minutes of the Holland Estates and the manuscript records of the States-General at The Hague.)

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, iv, pp. 1333, 1334.

[3] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vi, pp. 1401–1407.

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January 1, 1762, for thirty years more, expiring with the dissolution of the company at the close of the year 1791.[1]

It is thus clear that, from beginning to end of its existence, the charters of the Dutch West India Company never named the Orinoco as its limit. Yet in the renewal of 1700 there is a mention of that river which is at least of interest. Differing rates of toll had been established for cargoes to "New Netherland," to "the West Indies," and to "other places of America;"[2] and now, "for the better elucidation of the aforesaid charter," the States-General "further explains" "that under the name of New Netherland" may be included "that part of North America which stretches westward and southward from the south end of Newfoundland to the Cape of Florida," while "under the name of West Indies are understood the coasts and lands from the Cape of Florida to the river Orinoco, together with the Curaçao Islands," and that by the phrase "the other places of America" ("*de verdere plaetsen van America*"), whether, "in the oldest or the preceding charter," "are denoted all the Caribbean islands—Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico included—together with all the coasts and lands from the River Orinoco aforesaid, through the straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and passages thereabouts, to the straits of Anjan," etc.

It will hardly be claimed that the Orinoco is hereby made a boundary of the colony of Essequibo, for this would carry the other frontier to Bering Strait. And somewhat the same difficulty is offered by those enactments of the fourth and fifth decades of the seventeenth century, in which alone in all the

[1] I follow the contemporary official impression of this "*Nader prolongatie van het Octroy*" (The Hague, 1761). Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 216, and Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien*, p. 83, note, are both slightly in error as to these dates.

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vi, pp. 1401–1407.

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legislation of the States-General I have else found a mention of the Orinoco. It is one of these—that of 1637—which the English Blue Book[1] has in its text taken for a reaffirmation of the charter; and it is part of another which, by some confusion, it has reprinted in its appendix.[2]

The circumstances of these enactments seem to have been as follows: The policy of carrying the war with Spain into America had proved so popular, especially after the Dutch successes in Brazil and the capture of the Spanish silver fleet in 1628, that in 1632 it was found necessary to put some restrictions on the privateers.[3] At any rate, on May 14 of that year the States-General issued an enactment that for the space of one year (to the end of May, 1633) no armed ships "shall be free to sail to the coasts of Africa, Brazil, or New Netherland, or elsewhere where the Company may have trade [*daer de Compagnie Negotie soude mogen hebben*], on any account whatsoever, nor under any pretext that may be urged—lack of provisions, fresh water, or whatever else—on pain of the penalties prescribed in the charter against those who violate it:[4] Yet shall the aforesaid ships prior to the date above named of the last of May, 1633, be free to sail to the West Indies, to wit, the river Orinoco, westward along the coast of Cartagena,[5] Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands lying within

[1] Blue Book, p. 5.

[2] Blue Book, p. 55.

[3] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 599–602, and especially the note; and Aitzema, i, pp. 67–69. It calls itself: "*Ordre ende Reglement . . . waer op ende waer naer alle gemonteerde schepen uyt dese respective Provintien sullen vermoghen te varen in seecker ghedeelte van de limiten van 't Octroy van de West-Indische Compagnie.*"

[4] "*Om geenderley oorsaeeke, noch onder wat pretext sulcks soude mogen geschieden, 't zy van vervallen te zijn, faulte van Vivres, versch Water of andersints, op de penen inden Octroye tegens de Contraventeurs van dien gestatueert.*"

[5] "*Naer West-Indien, te weten de Riviere Oronocque, Westwaerts langhs de Kuste van Cartagena.*"

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these limits, in order there to carry on all manner of warfare, by sea and by land, against the King of Spain, his subjects and allies."

A month or so after the expiration of this prohibition, on July 15, 1633, it was renewed,[1] this time without restriction as to period, but with a notable change as to territory. Brazil is added to the permitted lands, while the clause defining "on any account whatsoever" (from "nor under any pretext" to "prescribed in the charter against those who violate it"—"*noch*" to "*gestatueert*") is stricken out. Ships of war were now, therefore, prohibited only from sailing "to the coasts of Africa, or New Netherland, or elsewhere where the Company may have trade," but may sail "to the coasts of Brazil; likewise into the West Indies, to wit, the river Orinoco westward along the coast of Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida,"[2] etc.

It is this enactment of 1633 which is printed in part in the English Blue Book[3] as "*Regulations for the Dutch West India Company*," and with the appended note that "there are some minute verbal alterations, not affecting the sense, between the text of 1632 and that of 1633." It has been pointed out that the regulations are not for the Company, but for the "armed ships" of others; and I think it will appear that the transfer of Brazil from the prohibited coasts of the one edict to the permitted coasts of the other affects the sense at least enough to make it clear that the Orinoco is not meant as a limit of the Company's jurisdiction—for Brazil, in 1633 as in 1632, was the most highly valued and the most tenaciously held of all the Company's possessions. It is not as a limit of

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 599-602. Cf. Aitzema, i, pp. 67-69, and Tjassens, pp. 319-323.

[2] The Dutch text may be found on p. 55 of the English Blue Book.

[3] Blue Book, p. 55.

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the West India Company, but as the first term in a definition of the West Indies, that the name of the Orinoco occurs; and a glance at the maps will show with what perfect geographical fitness, for the mouth of this river is precisely the point where the long line of the Caribbean islands, terminating in Trinidad, reaches the coast. And surely there are other reasons, besides those of boundary, which could make such a landmark as the great mouth of the Orinoco, beyond which to the east there were in any case by common confession no Spanish settlements, a wise limit for ships of war. It is, alas, not quite certain, as the Guiana coast is not mentioned either among those prohibited or those permitted, that it is not in both enactments included under "the coasts of Brazil."

Much more susceptible of the interpretation here urged by the English Blue Book would seem another statute of the States-General, enacted in 1635 and renewed in 1637.[1] On January 6, 1635, "by advice and deliberation of the Directors" of the West India Company, the States threw open to all subjects of the United Provinces the trade in "wood, tobacco, cattle, and all kinds of wares or merchandise in certain parts of the limits of the charter of the said Company," namely: . . . "The ships of the aforesaid subjects shall be free to sail to the West Indies: To wit, the river Orinoco, westward along the coast of Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Honduras, Campeachy, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands lying within these limits, but they shall on no account whatsoever be free to sail to the coast of Africa, nor to New Netherland, or elsewhere where the said Company has trade." . . .

And on October 16, 1637, this edict was renewed without

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 607–610. There is in the Library of Congress a contemporary official impression of this *Plakkaat*.

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change of terms.[1] In both enactments Brazil is entirely ignored; but on April 29, 1638, the trade of Brazil was thrown open by a separate ordinance, which was supplemented by others of August 10, 1648, and December 11, 1649.[2] In these the phrase of territorial description is "to the city Olinda de Parnambuco, and the coasts of Brazil" ("*op de Stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Kusten van Brazil*"); and the "Wild Coast," as the Dutch called the coast of Guiana, is nowhere mentioned.

Now, here at last we have the Orinoco named in such way as to suggest a limit of monopoly. But a more careful inspection shows that it is as the first Spanish point, not as the last Dutch one, that it is named. It is to be the beginning of free trade, but may nevertheless lie somewhat beyond the last port closed by monopoly. And what was restricted by these enactments was not the territorial authority of the Company, which everywhere, as in Brazil, for example, remained on precisely the same footing and with the same limits as ever, but solely its monopoly of trade.[3]

On August 10, 1648, the States-General issued yet another of these regulations as to trade. It was not, as might possibly be inferred from its date, an outcome of the Treaty of Münster. The territorial limits of this particular restriction were adopted by the West India Company itself as early as October 14, 1645, after much discussion as to the best interests of trade, and were submitted on April 9, 1647, in precisely this form to the States-General, in the report of the committee on

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 607–610. It is the text of the renewal which is followed by the *Placaat-Boek*, the variations of that of 1635 being pointed out in a note. It is printed also by Aitzema, i, p. 69, and by Tjaassens, p. —.

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, i, cols. 609–612, 613–618.

[3] *Postscript.*—This has been printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 56 58.

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the reform of the West India Company.[1] It is clear at a glance that what is here thrown open to free trade is again the Spanish coasts of the Caribbean and the Gulf, and that the Orinoco serves as a point of departure for these, while what is reserved to the Company is the entire remaining coast of America, with that of West Africa. Were this a territorial claim, it would imply Dutch ownership of all America and Africa. It is in fact a trade restriction implying in itself no territorial claims whatever, though territorial possessions doubtless had their share in determining this restriction of trade. As originally drawn in 1645, and as submitted to the States-General in 1647, what was permitted by the regulation was not primarily trade, but "to attack or injure the enemy," and it was explicitly set forth that "it is not intended to license the ship or ships . . . merely to trade in or carry timber, salt, tobacco or cotton, and all other wares, . . . but it is also designed to commit offensively and defensively every hostility and damage on the King of Castile's subjects." But, the peace with Spain having intervened, in 1648 it was enacted without these aggressive clauses, but without change as to territorial limits.

As the new and final charter of 1674 granted the new Company formed by it nothing else on the American mainland than "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," the Orinoco could hardly again come into question, even as a trade limit, unless the Orinoco were counted the boundary of Pomeroon. That it was so counted never appears in the legislation of the States-General, and seems expressly precluded by the terms ("the territory of the State, extending . . . to beyond the river Waini, not far from the mouth of the river Orinoco")

[1] This document may be found in English translation in the first volume of the *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York*, pp. 216–248.

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of the remonstrance addressed by the States-General to Spain in 1769.

There result, then, from this review of the legislation of the States-General, the conclusions:

1. That neither in any charter of the Dutch West India Company, nor in any "reaffirmation" or extension of any charter, is there mention of the Orinoco as a limit.

2. That in none of the published legislation on behalf of that Company is the Orinoco made a boundary of territorial right, possession, or jurisdiction.

3. That its second and final charter of 1674 seems to exclude the Orinoco from the territorial possessions of the Company.

II. AS TO JURISDICTION.

The original charter of the Dutch West India Company, in 1621, granted in its second article:[1]

That, further, the aforesaid Company in our name and by our authority, within the limits hereinbefore prescribed, shall have power to make contracts, leagues, and alliances with the princes and natives of the lands therein comprised, as well as to build there any fortresses and defenses, to [provide][2] governors, troops, and officers of justice, and for other necessary services, for the preservation of the places, maintenance of good order, police, and justice. And, likewise, for the furtherance of trade, to appoint, transfer, remove, or replace, as according to circumstances they shall find proper. Furthermore, they may promote the settlement of fruitful and uninhabited districts, and do everything that the service of these lands[3] [and the] profit and increase of trade shall demand. And they of the Company shall regularly communicate

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, col. 567.

[2] This important verb is omitted in the charter, as printed in the *Groot Placaet-Boek*, in Aitzema, and in Tjassens—and so, perhaps, in the original document; but it is supplied, in the new charter of 1674, as "*aenstellen*."

[3] I. e., the Netherlands, not the colonies: see Professor Jameson's discussion of this phrase in his *Willem Usselinx*, pp. 71, 72. The words, which are of constant occurrence, always refer to the mother country.

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with us, and shall report such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid princes and nations, together with the conditions of the fortresses, defenses, and settlements by them undertaken.[1]

The third article of the charter provides that the States-General shall confirm and commission all governors, and that these, as also the vice-governors, commanders, and officers, shall swear allegiance to the States as well as to the Company.

By the fifth article the States promise to supply such troops as may be necessary—these, however, to be paid by the Company.

Such are the provisions creating and limiting the territorial jurisdiction of the West India Company. They were never changed. Even in the new charter of 1674 these articles were copied outright, with but one or two corrections in diction.[2]

But as early as 1629 the States-General found it wise to prescribe more definitely for the government of the new territories. On October 13 of that year they issued an "Order of Government,[3] both as to policy and as to justice, in the places conquered and to conquer in the West Indies," explaining that "it has been made clear to us on behalf of the West India Company that for the better direction of affairs it would be useful and serviceable to the said Company that under our

[1] On August 27, 1648, at the request of the States-General and by instruction of the Company, "Director de Laet delivered unto the assembly authentic copies of such treaties, contracts, and capitulations as the said West India Company hath made and concluded with the kings, princes, and potentates within the limits of their charter. Whereupon deliberation being had, it is resolved and concluded that the aforesaid authentic copies be locked up and preserved." (Minutes of the States-General, as translated in *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i, pp. 253, 254.)

[2] In Article II "*begrepen*," "comprised," becomes *gelegen* "situated;" the long word *nootsaeckelijcke*, "necessary," yields to the shorter word *nootelijcke*, "needful;" and the lacking verb *aenstellen* is supplied. Articles II and V are wholly unchanged.

[3] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, pp. 1235–1247.

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authority there should be enacted by the said chartered Company a definite system of government, both as to policy and as to justice, in the place or places (with God's help) to be conquered."

The provision for the protection of the vested rights of "Spaniards, Portuguese, and natives"—the phrase occurs more than once—suggests where these conquests were to be made.

"The councilors," says the fifteenth article, "shall further seek at every opportunity to establish friendship, trade, and commerce with neighboring and near-by lords and peoples, also alliances and compacts, to the damage and enfeebling of the King of Spain, his subjects and allies, and to the best furtherance of the common weal of the Company, making the aforesaid treaties on behalf and in the name of the High and Mighty Lords the States-General and of the West India Company; and shall, regarding all these, take first and foremost the advice of the General and Governor." All property of the Jesuits, or of "other convents or colleges of clergy, of what order soever," is to be seized and confiscated to the profit of the Company, just as if belonging to the King of Spain. The twenty-first article provides for "any places, within the limits, situate on the Continent or on the adjoining islands" which may "come to be conquered and possessed."

Again, on April 26, 1634, the States-General, "by advice and deliberation of the Directors of the general chartered West India Company," issued an "Order and Regulation"[1]—this time "regarding the settlement and cultivation of the lands and places by the aforesaid Company conquered in Brazil." In this they provide minutely for the government of all such as shall go to dwell "within the limits of the lands and places

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. i, cols. 621–626. A copy of a contemporary impression of this statute may be seen in the Library of Congress.

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conquered or yet to conquer in Brazil by the chartered West India Company."

Still again, on August 23, 1636,[1] they further provided for the government of the "conquered captaincies, cities, forts, and places in Brazil;" and yet again, on October 12, 1645,[2] when the capstone was put on their structure by the creation of "the Supreme Government in the lands of Brazil already through God's blessing conquered, or yet to conquer."

For the government of Guiana, or of any of its colonies, no enactment of the States-General is to be found. The control of its possessions in this quarter seems left wholly to the Company.[3] And in none of these enactments of the States-General, nor yet in any of the explicit codes issued by the Company for the instruction of its servants,[4] have I found any provision for the trade outposts which play such a part in the colonial records of Guiana, or any intimation as to the territorial claims involved in the establishment of these.

It is, however, worth adding that when in 1665, in the controversy over New Netherland, the British ambassador argued that the West India Company's charter was more limited than the patents granted by the English King, the States-General replied that "that granted to the West India Company is as ample as any which the King hath granted or can grant. And the Company is expressly authorized by the second article of its charter to plant colonies, occupy lands, and furthermore, as fully and amply as any patent from the King can extend,

[1] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, cols. 1247–1264.

[2] *Groot Placaat-Boek*, vol. ii, cols. 1263–1268.

[3] *Postscript.*—I am glad to add that the Company's provisions for these may now be found in my extracts from Dutch Archives, in Vol. II of the report of the Commission.

[4] Two contemporary impressions of that issued with the new charter of 1674—that by the official printer of the States-General (*'s Gravenhage*, 1675) and that by the printer of the Company itself at Middelburg—are in the Library of Congress.

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and such is expressly declared under the Great Seal of the State."[1]

From this survey of the charters of the Company and of the other legislation of the States-General it appears, then, that the Dutch West India Company was charged with ample territorial jurisdiction in all districts which it should conquer or colonize within the limits of its charter. But it does not appear that this territorial jurisdiction was made coextensive with these limits, or that there was ever mention of the river Orinoco in connection therewith.

But there further exist, among the acts of the States-General, certain grants of territory on the Guiana coast, made by the West India Company with the concurrence of the States or by the States at the instance of the Company. It remains to ask what of territorial jurisdiction or boundary may be specified or implied by these.

Thus, in 1669, the Dutch West India Company conceded to the German Count of Hanau a strip 30 Dutch miles broad, which they have been quoted[2] as granting "from their territory of Guayana, situated between the river Orinoco and the river Amazons." Unfortunately a careful study of this grant, whose full text is given by the Dutch historian Hartsinck,[3] and which is translated in full by Rodway and Watt,[4] the English historians of British Guiana, fails to find in the document any such clause as that quoted.[5] The phrase actually used is, indeed, full of suggestion of another sort. For the grant reads: . . . "A piece of land situated on the Wild Coast of America, between the river Oronoque and the river of the Amazons," adding the condition, "which His

[1] I owe to Professor Jameson the suggestion of this interesting passage.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1" p. 8.

[3] Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, vol. i, pp. 217–222.

[4] Rodway and Watt, *Annals of Guiana*, vol. ii, pp. 5, 6.

[5] I have since studied the original in the Dutch archives at The Hague, but without finding this clause or any like it.

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Excellency will be entitled to select, provided he keeps at least six Dutch miles from other colonies there established or founded by the said chartered West India Company or with its consent." . . . ("*een streeke Lands, gelegen op de wilde Kust van America, tusschen Rio d' Oronoque en Rio de las Amazonas*," . . . "*mits blyvende ten minsten zes Hollandsche mylen van andere Colonien door de voornoemde geoctrojeerde Westindische Compagnie of met hare permissie aldaar opgericht en geëtablisseert*").

That the grant implies that the whole Wild Coast was counted by the West India Company open to Dutch colonization can not be questioned. It seems to imply also that there were still on that coast unoccupied stretches of 30 Dutch miles in breadth lying at least six miles distant from the Dutch establishments of Surinam, Berbice, and Essequibo; and that such a stretch might by the Dutch be granted outright, even to a foreigner. But it does not assert an *exclusive* Dutch right to colonize that coast; and it must in this connection be constantly remembered that throughout most of this century the Governments of Great Britain and of France were also freely granting patents of territory on the Guiana coast, and that there has been found no record of the slightest Dutch protest against it. Great Britain was, indeed, earlier in the field than the Dutch, the colonies of Leigh and Harcourt antedating any known Dutch settlement on this coast, and the patent to Harcourt covering the whole territory from the Amazon to the Essequibo. It should be added that the colony of the Count of Hanau was a flash in the pan, no attempt ever being made to establish it.

Among the published acts of the States-General I have as yet been able to lay hand on only one other grant of territory in this region. It is a contemporary impression[1] of a

[1] A copy of this impression is in the Library of Congress at Washington. I have since studied the original at The Hague.

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"Charter from the High and Mighty States-General relating to the Colony on the Wild Coast of America, under the leadership of the Knight Balthazar Gerbier, Baron Douvily; printed in the year of our Lord 1659." It tells how, on November 15, 1658, the States conceded to the baron[1] "as *Patroon* the right to erect a colony on the continental Wild Coast of America, in the district of the charter granted to the West India Company" (* * * "*Dat den Heer Ridder Balthazar Gerbier Baron Douvily als Patroon sal mogen oprechten een Colonye in West-Indien op de vaste wilde Cust van America, in 't distrikt van 't Octroy aen de West-Indische Compagnie verleent*"). But neither in the "articles of liberties and exemptions," granted him by the Company, nor in the appended "advertisement" setting forth enthusiastically the beauties of the new land, is there any other definition of its location and limits than that it is to be "on the continental Wild Coast of the West Indies, of five miles in breadth, or along the seashore, and further so far inland as shall by the colonists come to be cultivated on the Wild Coast in America, with jurisdiction over the bays lying within the colony, and half [the jurisdiction over] the rivers on the two sides of the aforementioned colony" (. . . "*een Colonie te moghen oprechten op de vaste Wilde Custe van de West-Indien van vijf mylen in dc breete, ofte langhs den Zee-kant, ende voorts so verre lantswaerts in als door de Coloniers sullen kunnen werden gecultiveert op de wilde Custe in America, met Iurisdictie aen de Bayen in de Colonie gelegen, ende de helft van de Revieren, aen beyde zyden van de voorn. Colonie*").[2]

[1]Gerbier, though a Dutchman, had spent most of his life in English service as the friend of Buckingham and of Charles I, to whom he owed his title. Balked in his career by the Puritan revolution, he seems now to have had it in mind to renew under Dutch auspices the Wiapoco colony of the Englishman Harcourt. There it was, in the extreme east of Guiana, that he attempted his settlement; but his enterprise came speedily to naught.

[2]The attempts at fresh colonies on the Cayenne and on the Wiapoco in 1676, and the charter granted in 1689 to Jan Reeps, of Hoorn, to erect a colony "on the west

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From the terms of these grants may unquestionably be inferred the assumption by the Dutch Government of a right to plant colonies, either directly or through the West India Company, in the district known as the Wild Coast. There is, however, in none of them anything to suggest that this was counted exclusively a Dutch right; nor is there in them any claim of sovereignty over this coast as a whole.

I hope for much more from the unprinted records of the Company,[1] which by your instructions I am to examine in Europe.

Respectfully submitted. GEORGE L. BURR.

WASHINGTON, *May, 1896.*

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side of the river Amazon, as far as to Cape Orange," were not the affairs of the West India Company, whose territory now (since the new charter of 1674) included on the mainland only Essequibo and Pomeroon. There is in the charter of Reeps no mention of a Dutch claim to Guiana as a whole. (See the minutes of the States-General March 4, May 29, June 5, 1688, and January 7, 1689; the minutes of the Estates of Holland July 16, 1688; and the charter and prospectus of the colony, printed at The Hague, 1689. A copy of the latter is in the Lenox Library.)

[1] *Postscript.*—This hope was only partially justified. What I found in these documents may be learned from my report on the evidence of Dutch archives. Nothing in them invalidates the conclusions reached above.

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REPORT

ON

THE EVIDENCE OF DUTCH ARCHIVES AS TO EUROPEAN OCCUPATION AND CLAIMS IN WESTERN GUIANA.

BY

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

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REPORT ON THE EVIDENCE OF DUTCH ARCHIVES AS TO EUROPEAN OCCUPATION AND CLAIMS IN WESTERN GUIANA.

By GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

To the Commission appointed "To investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana":

Early in May, 1896, I had the honor to receive from you the following instructions:

Washington, D. C., May 7, 1896.

DEAR SIR: For the satisfactory completion of the work of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, it is found necessary to verify and supplement the materials in its hands by researches in the archives and libraries of the Netherlands. It is the Commission's wish to intrust you with this mission.

It seems best that you proceed at once to The Hague, and there first examine carefully the records and diplomatic correspondence of the States-General from the time of the earliest Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiana to the final transfer to Great Britain of the colony of Essequibo, seeking to learn what claims were at any time made to territory or jurisdiction on this coast, and especially what correspondence may ever have been had, as to boundaries or territorial aggressions, with the Government of Spain. Having completed this, you may then make similar research in the records of the provincial Estates, especially in those of Zeeland, for such dealings with trade or with the colonies as may possibly throw some light on territorial claims made by or for the latter in Guiana. This done, all accessible papers

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of the Dutch West India Company, whether at Amsterdam, Middelburg, or wherever now to be found, should be thoroughly looked into, with a view to ascertaining the exact location and extent of its settlements and trading posts, the character of the territorial claims based on these under its charters, and the relations sustained by them toward their Spanish neighbors. Should you have reason further to believe that there may be found in municipal archives, libraries, or private collections records, journals, or correspondence throwing light upon the territorial limits or claims of the Dutch colonies in Guiana, these may also be examined, so far as the courtesy of their custodians makes them accessible to you.

The points to be kept especially in view in this research are:

1. The exact holdings of the Dutch upon the seacoast and the dates of their occupation or abandonment, with all evidence as to the existence and location of trading posts, guardhouses, or other establishments, however slight or temporary, west of the mouth of the river Moruca.

2. Whatever can be learned of the nature and extent of the trade carried on, and of the control exercised, if any, by the Dutch in the whole region north of the Sierra Imataca, between the mouth of the Moruca and that of the Orinoco, with any intimations of territorial claims in this district.

3. The precise situation, nature, and duration of any Dutch posts established in the valley of the river Cuyuni and its tributaries above the junction of that stream with the Mazaruni, with anything that can be learned of Spanish garrisons or missions in these parts or of the relations here between Dutch and Spanish colonists or authorities.

4. Whatever can throw light upon the precise nature of the territorial claims, as to jurisdiction and boundaries, of the Dutch West India Company, and of its plantations, or upon the attitude of Spain or her colonial authorities toward these.

The Commission will be glad to receive prompt intelligence, by telegraph if the matter seem to you likely materially to influence its conclusions, of all important discoveries made by you; and will expect from time to time detailed reports of your procedure and results. Suggestions as to other promising channels of research it will at all times be willing to receive and consider; and, should there seem to you serious risk in delay, you are empowered to enter upon any such avenue of inquiry before receiving the formal sanction of the Commission.

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In case, in the course of your investigations, you should find documents or papers which you deem of sufficient importance to have copied, you will have this done, obtaining the certificate of the custodian, wherever possible, as to the correctness of the copy, and in all cases making, yourself, a comparison of the copy and the original.

Should you, in the course of your investigations, require the assistance of any clerks, copyists, or stenographers, you are authorized to employ them and to pay them for their services such compensation as may be reasonable and usual in the places where they are so employed.

Very respectfully yours,

S. MALLET-PREVOST,
Secretary.

Professor GEORGE L. BURR.

The mission thus intrusted to me has been accomplished. I have now the honor to submit a final report of its method and its results.

I. METHOD.

In obedience to your instructions I sailed for Holland by the steamship *Werkendam* on Saturday, May 9, 1896. Landing in Rotterdam on the morning of May 22, I went at once to The Hague and entered on my researches in the archives of the realm at that capital. As the details of my procedure are already familiar to the Commission through my frequent communications to its secretary, it will be enough here to say that I was busied there until nearly the end of August. My research covered the sources named by the instructions of the Commission—the records and diplomatic correspondence of the States-General, the records of the provincial Estates, the papers of the Dutch West India Company, and included, besides, many documents suggested by questions arising in the course of my work or laid before me by the ever-helpful archivists. The papers of the West India Company, all now gathered in these central archives, proved far more voluminous than I had expected, filling many hundreds of volumes,

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and I was gratified to find that it was in precisely that portion of them with which my study must deal that least had been lost.[1]

It will give an idea of the extent of the task and may aid in the verification of its results if I here subjoin a list, by catalogue numbers,[2] of the manuscript volumes examined by me:

8	37	88	111	298	342	380	473	491
9	38	91	112	299	343	381	474	495
10	39	92	113	300	344	382	475	497
11	40	93	114	301	345	383	478	525
12	41	94	162	302	346	384	479	526
13	42	95	163	303	368	385	480	527
14	43	96	167	304	369	462	481	528
15	44	97	169	318	370	463	482	531
22	45	98	170	334	371	464	483	533
25	46	99	171	335	372	465	484	534
26	50	100	172	336	373	466	485	535
27	51	106	173	337	374	467	486	536
28	52	107	174	338	376	468	487	537
29	53	108	175	339	377	470	488	538
30	54	109	176	340	378	471	489	539
36	55	110	198	341	379	472	490	540

[1] The missing records whose loss there was most reason to deplore were: (1) The minutes of the proceedings of the Nineteen (the supreme board of the West India Company under its first charter, 1621–1674); of these only the first volume (1623–1624) remains. (2) The earliest volume (1623–1626) of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, and the volumes covering the period 1646–1657. (3) The minutes for certain years of the proceedings of the Ten (the supreme board of the Company under its second charter, 1675–1791), namely, for 1715, 1728, 1738, 1741, 1742, 1745, 1748, 1751, 1752, 1754, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1775, 1777, 1783, 1785, 1788, 1789: the archivist in charge of the West India papers, though he had often noticed these strange lacunæ, could give no explanation of them. The letters received by the Company from the Essequibo colony during the period 1756–1772, whose loss threatened to be most serious of all, proved later to be intact among the papers at London.

[2] These catalogue numbers are likely at no distant day to be replaced by others, since a new catalogue is in prospect. The old catalogue, however, will doubtless remain accessible at the archives. The titles of such of these volumes as I found of fruit to my research will of course be found attached to the transcripts which I herewith submit. The time at my disposal does not warrant a classification and description of them here.

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541	798	904	1034	1959	2119	2368	3077	3122
542	799	908	1035	1996 *b*	2120	2369	3078	3123
569	800	913	1036	2006	2121	2370	3080	3124
570	801	916	1047	2007	2122	2389	3081	3125
594	804	917	1048	2008	2157	2390	3082	3133
596	805	921	1049	2009	2158	2391	3083	3134
597	806	938	1051	2010	2183	2392	3084	3135
599	807	939	1052	2012 *b*	2238	2394	3085	3136
600	808	940	1053	2012 *c*	2243	2395	3086	3137
601	809	941	1395	2012 *d*	2255	2396	3087	3138
602	810	944	1396	2013	2260	2397	3088	3142
629 *a*	813 *a*	945	1611	2014	2269	2398	3089	3143
629 *b*	813 *b*	946	1626 *a*	2022	2287	2439 *c*	3090	3144
643	813 *d*	947	1626 *l*	2026	2313	2439 *xc*	3091	3145
644	824	953	1627 *d*	2080	2319	2439 *xd*	3092	3150
717	841	954	1907	2081	2320	2439 *xx*	3093	
758	842	955	1916	2094	2321	2578	3094	
759	843	960	1917 *x*	2099	2322	2579	3095	
764	844	966	1918	2100	2324	2580	3096	
768	845	967	1919	2109	2332	2581	3097	
775	846	968	1925	2110	2335 *a*	2624	3098	
777	854	970	1933	2111	2336	2657	3101	
778	855	971	1947	2112	2354	2658	3102	
779	856	972	1948	2113	2358	2659	3105	
780	859	974	1953	2114	2359	2961 *xxx*	3106	
782	885	975	1954	2115	2363	2966	3107	
795	901	1005	1955	2116	2365	2976	3108	
796	902	1022	1956	2117	2366	2980	3120	
797	903	1023 *a*	1958	2118	2367	3075	3121	

All these numbered volumes belong to the papers of the Dutch West India Company. To these must be added, therefore, the registers of the States-General, of the Dutch Admiralties, and of the provincial Estates of Holland and of Zeeland.[1] Added must be the diplomatic correspondence between Spain and Holland, in its three series—the letters of the Dutch

[1] The minutes of the Holland and the Zeeland Estates are accessible also in print; but passages of grave importance had to be verified by the manuscripts.

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ambassadors in Spain to the States-General, to the secretary (*Griffier*) of the States-General, and to the pensionary of Holland, who discharged the functions of minister of foreign affairs. Added, too, must be the records of the negotiations connected with the Peace of Westphalia, the Peace of Utrecht, and the Peace of Amiens. Of sundry isolated documents falling under neither of these classes, adequate description will be found in the footnotes to the transcripts which I herewith submit, or in those to the present report.

In all my labors I received from the officials in charge of the archives the most ungrudging coöperation. Neither my large demands on the working space of the reading room, nor the heavy labor of fetching the hundreds of codices from remote upper chambers caused a word of complaint. Documents and maps I was allowed to copy freely; and copyists and photographers were kindly found for me. At my shoulder, to aid in difficult readings or to lend their experience in questions of interpretation, were ever the patient and astute scholars in charge of the reading room, and there was hardly a member of the staff to whom at one time or another I had not occasion to make appeal. To all these archivists, from highest to lowest—to Jongheer Th. van Riemsdijk, the archivist in chief; to Mr. Telting, the adjunct archivist in charge of the West India papers, and to his colleague in charge of the East India papers, Mr. Heeres; to the commies-chartermeester, Mr. Hingman, who was my guide to the diplomatic papers and to the records of the States-General; to Mr. Morren, who aided me in collation and who was the untiring purveyor of codices; to Messrs. Ross and Van Oyen of the reading room, and to Mr. Caland, my assistant in transcription; and to the janitors as well, who so cheerily fetched and carried away—I owe alike a hearty gratitude which I

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should be sorry here not to record.[1] Nor should I by any means omit to mention the generous aid given me in so many ways throughout my work at The Hague by the foremost of all students of the history of the Dutch colonies which now make up British Guiana, their historian, General P. M. Netscher.

In July I was joined by Dr. De Haan, of the Johns Hopkins University, who in June, on his way to spend his vacation with his parents in Leeuwarden, had offered his help in my work. Of this I was now glad to avail myself, and from this time forward he took from my shoulders most of the burden of collation and of translation. In August there joined me, much to the pleasure and profit of my work, Mr. Coudert, of your own number, who remained with me there for some weeks.

Toward the end of August my work had in its chronological progress reached 1791, the date of the suppression of the West India Company. It seemed wise to break off here for a visit to Zeeland, where in the provincial and municipal archives at Middelburg, and in the municipal archives of Flushing and of Vere, I hoped, in view of the close relations of these three Walcheren cities with the Guiana colonies, to gain fresh light, especially upon their earlier history. This hope was disappointed. Arriving in Middelburg, I first addressed myself to the archives of the province of Zeeland, where, in the absence of the archivist in chief, I was courteously received by the commies-chartermeester. His assurance that none of the papers of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company still lingered here was but confirmation of what I had learned at The Hague. He could, however, put before me in the

[1] My obligations to these scholars have not ceased with my return. Mr. Telting, especially, has patiently answered a multitude of questions arising in the digestion of my work; and Mr. Van Oyen, aided by Mr. Ross, has carried out for me certain researches in the early papers of the States-General which I had been unable to bring to completion.

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original manuscript the minutes of the Zeeland Estates, and, what was better, a voluminous body of letters and documents, serving as *pièces justificatives* to these minutes, from the sixteenth century onward. In these documents, which are arranged in the chronological order of the minutes themselves, I sought diligently through those years in which any action of the Estates with regard to Guiana gave me reason to hope for new light from this illustrative matter. The search was, however, wholly without fruit. Nor could I learn of the existence of anything else in the provincial archives likely to throw light upon my problem.

In the same building with the provincial archives of Zeeland is also the provincial library, and to this I now betook myself. The librarian, Mr. Broekema, devoted himself to my service and put into my hands not only certain printed books which I had hitherto sought in vain, but also several manuscripts. Among the latter were the minutes and journals of the "Commercial Company of Middelburg trading within the limits of the West India Company's charter" from 1720 to 1791. I was especially gratified to find here also manuscript copies of the municipal records—the minutes of the city councils—of both Middelburg and Vere. This made unnecessary the visit I had planned to the municipal archives of these two cities, for it was only these minutes I had hoped to consult there; and it was the more welcome because I had reason to believe that at Vere the archives of that ancient town were in some confusion. In none of the books and documents examined by me did I find, however, anything of serious value to my quest.

I should now have turned my steps toward Flushing, had I not learned from the commies-chartermeester at Middelburg that in the English bombardment of 1809 the town archives had been utterly destroyed. Effort has since been made,

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indeed, to gather from private sources what may partially supply their place; but in Middelburg there was put in my hands a complete printed catalogue of these gleanings, and it needed but a hasty turning of its pages to show that a journey thither was needless. I returned, therefore, to The Hague, not much wiser than I came, but convinced that from Dutch provincial and municipal archives in general there was little to hope.

Another quarter promised better fruit. During the course of my research at The Hague there had been published by Great Britain the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," largely made up of extracts from Dutch records; and of this Dutch portion an advance copy had, through the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government, been since June in my hands. From this I had learned, not more to my own surprise than to that of the archivists at The Hague, that a very important portion of the papers received by the Dutch West India Company from its colonies in Guiana were in British hands, and must be sought in London. Thither, therefore, I now turned myself, accompanied by Dr. De Haan.

Reaching London on September 3, and presenting myself at the American Embassy, I received the necessary introduction to the officials of Her Majesty's Foreign Office. There I met a kindly reception and was conducted to the Colonial Office, where, as soon as matters could be put in readiness, the Dutch colonial papers, together with the maps of the Schomburgk boundary survey, which at the instance of the Commission I had also asked to see, were laid before me and left to my free use. Regarding the maps, which were outside of the scope of my original errand and hence of the present paper, I have elsewhere reported to the Commission. The Dutch documents (which, I was assured, are all that are now

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in English hands of the Dutch records of the Essequibo colony) form a single series of letters, with their inclosures, from the Colonial Government to the Dutch West India Company. They are bound in vellum, in thick quarto volumes, numbered consecutively from 456 to 504. Chronologically they begin with the small body of letters from the revived colony on the Pomeroon (1686–1689). All the rest belong to the last century of Dutch occupation, beginning with the opening of the year 1700 and coming down to the expiration of the West India Company at the close of 1791, some documents being of even so late a date as March, 1792. The documents are, in nearly every case, originals, and with their inclosures form a series much more complete than any now in the Dutch archives at The Hague. It seems probable that with the transfer of the colony, in 1814, the Dutch Government handed over to the British its own best official set of these colonial papers. That at least the earliest nine volumes once belonged to the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company is clear from their bearing its monogram on their covers; and it is probable from the older numeration still visible on their backs that all did so.[1]

With these documents we were busy until nearly the end of September. The extracts printed by the Blue Book were compared with their originals and the Dutch text transcribed where there could be any doubt as to the precise meaning of a passage. This, under my oversight, was especially the task of Dr. De Haan, while I meanwhile examined the documents

[1]This older numeration, beginning with No. 269, ends with 323, there being some lacunæ and slight variations from the English order. There is an old numeration by letters from A to XX. The British numbers are printed on red slips and pasted on the volume. This, and the title "Colonial Office Transmissions" on a similar red slip, are the only mark of their present ownership except the stamp bearing the words "Public Record Office: Colonial Office," with which bindings and pages alike are plentifully besprinkled.

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as a whole and transcribed or marked for transcription such other passages as seemed to deserve the attention of the Commission. Of the documents of Dutch origin printed in the Blue Book there remained a few whose originals, even in London, were inaccessible to us. These were those drawn from the archives of British Guiana—extracts from the minutes of the old colonial councils of Policy and of Justice. Such transcripts of the Dutch as had been transmitted from the colony were freely shared with us; but a part of the extracts had been sent in English translation only.[1]

Throughout our work at the Colonial Office all possible helpfulness was shown us by those with whom we had to do. For the courtesies of Sir Thomas Sanderson, of the Hon. Francis Hyde Villiers, and of Mr. Reddan, of the Foreign Office, and of Sir Robert Meade and Mr. C. Alexander Harris, of the Colonial Office, I may especially express my thanks. Mr. Harris was almost constantly at call, and facilitated much our work with the documents. I have also to thank him for transcripts generously furnished me since the completion of my work in London.

During the stay in London I had also opportunity for research at the British Museum and at the Record Office, and here, too, received every courtesy and aid from the scholars in charge.

On September 26, we returned to The Hague, and took up again our work at the archives there. By the 20th of October I had brought down my study to the close of the Dutch occupation in Guiana. Crossing that night to England, and finding time next day for a little added research in the British Museum, I sailed for America by the steamer *Teutonic*, boarding

[1]The passages which we were thus unable to verify were those in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" bearing the numbers 73, 82, 96, 100, 107, 109, 112, 117, 123, 139, 147, 184.

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it at Queenstown on Thursday, October 22. In the course of the work at The Hague I had found occasion to make researches in the Royal Library and in that of the Department of the Colonies as well as in the archives, and had made several trips to Leyden for investigation in the university library there. I could learn by inquiry of no private collections from which I was likely to gain further materials of importance; and other research in the public archives and libraries of Holland I had been led by what I found at The Hague and in Zeeland to count needless.[1]

This part of my report must not be closed without grateful recognition of the helpful courtesies at The Hague of the American minister, Mr. Quinby, and of his secretary, Mr. Rix, and at London, of our ambassador, Mr. Bayard, and of Secretary Roosevelt.

With the transcripts, which were the material outcome of my research abroad, I reached Washington on October 28. I have now the honor to lay them before you.[2]

[1] One exception I must make to this in favor of the private archives of the Stadhouders. These archives of the House of Orange, pending the completion of the new building in which they are to be housed and made accessible to scholars, are only partially and with difficulty to be used; and it was so late in my work when I found myself in need of aid from them that I grudged my waning time to the uncertain attempt. For a single point which, had it presented itself earlier, I should certainly have essayed a search among them, I may refer to a note in my report on Maps from Official Sources (at page 150 of Vol. III).

[2] These transcripts are printed in full, under the title of "Extracts from Dutch Archives," in Vol. II of the Report of the Commission.

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II. RESULTS.

But what, you ask me, do these documents show? In answer, let me take up, first, their testimony as to the earliest relations of the Dutch with Guiana;[1] then, in territorial order, what they show as to the Dutch in the Essequibo, in the Pomeroon, in the Moruca, in the Waini, in the Barima, in the Amacura, and in the great western branches of the Essequibo, the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni; next, their evidence as to the history of Dutch claims to boundary in these regions; and, in conclusion, what can be learned from these Dutch documents as to the settlements and claims of the Spaniards. At your request I shall take also into account such concurrent or conflicting evidence upon these points as is furnished by other historical sources. To make clearer my results I submit also herewith a series of historical maps, showing the progress of European occupation in the Orinoco-Essequibo region from the beginning of the acquaintance of the Dutch with Guiana to the loss of their western colonies there.[2]

[1]This field (and in part the others also) has already been dealt with by Professor Jameson's report on Spanish and Dutch settlement in Guiana prior to 1648. The conclusions reached by his study, based on the printed sources, are but reinforced by my research among the documents. Yet, as this research has brought into my hands not unpublished documents only, but also the manuscript originals of printed sources, and thus enables me to speak with greater fullness or positiveness on nearly every point touched by him, it has been thought wise to review the whole territory. I shall, however, count it unnecessary to do more than refer to Professor Jameson's paper for the more elaborate treatment of sundry phases of the subject.

[2]These maps are printed in Vol. IV (atlas), as maps 5–15. A brief paper "On the Historical Maps," in Vol. III, gives a summary of the evidence on which they rest.

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I. GUIANA AND THE DUTCH.

The national existence of the Dutch began with the year 1579. In 1581 they formally renounced their allegiance to the King of Spain. Till then, however rebellious, they had been his subjects. Such title as their exploration or commerce could give was the King of Spain's title. Even the assertion of their independence brought with it no claim to lands outside the Netherlands; nor is there reason to suppose that the Dutch yet dreamed of such a claim.[1] The King of Spain, indeed, was now their foe; and they knew well that he was not King of Spain alone. That realm but gave him his most familiar title. He was lord of Portugal as well, lord of the fairest lands of Italy, lord of the Mediterranean isles, lord still of half the Netherlands; but his proudest title was that of lord of the Indies. Thence he drew the treasures with which he dazzled and bullied the world.[2] America was but a Spanish

[1] In view of these facts, I find especially puzzling a claim that "the Dutch appear to have been the first who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, turned their attention to Guiana" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 4); and, as a result of my research, it is not easy to credit the statement in any sense. In reply to a request for the evidence on which it rests, I have learned of nothing definite except only that when in 1528 the Welsers of Augsburg, having received a grant from Charles the Fifth, led their expedition to the Spanish Main, their troop was made up of "Germans and Flemings." But the Welsers were South Germans, their destination was not Guiana, and the "Flemings" who at this date were available for such an enterprise were far more likely to hail from the great towns of the populous Southern Netherlands than from the provinces peopled by the Dutch. Of relations of the Dutch with Guiana prior to their independence I have found else no suggestion; and the researches of the Dutch historians of Dutch commerce give no countenance to such a theory.

[2] How conscious the Dutch were of this fact appears constantly in the pages of Usselinx, of Van Metcren, of Grotius. Under many forms they reiterate Ralcigh's complaint that "It is his Indian Golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe."

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island. No other European State, save Portugal, had yet planted a colony on its shores; and Portugal was now one of the dominions of the King of Spain. Whatever cloud might rest on the exclusiveness of his right by discovery to the northern half of the continent, none now obscured his title to the southern. That this title had, further, the explicit approval of the Pope of Rome was hardly likely to give it added sanctity in the eyes of Protestant powers; but as yet that title, however its basis might be questioned, was not attacked from any quarter. If Drake, the Englishman, and his fellow-freebooters made the Caribbean seas their own and took tribute of the treasures of Peru, it was confessedly but a raid into an enemy's territory; land they neither sought nor claimed.

Yet if the English, though in name at peace with the King of Spain, might thus singe his beard on these far shores, so with double warrant might the Dutch. And such, not conquest or settlement, was, so far as the records show, the aim of the first Dutch project for a visit to these coasts.[1] Its

[1] Jan de Laet has again and again been made responsible for the statement that as early as 1580 the Dutch traded to the Orinoco. Hartsinck, the old Dutch historian of Guiana (i, p. 206), was perhaps the first to set afloat the blunder. He makes Gumilla jointly responsible for the statement; but Gumilla merely follows De Laet. What De Laet really says is something very different. It is in one of his chapters on the Orinoco, and he has been speaking of the expeditions of Raleigh from 1595 to 1617.

"For some years now there has been carried on a great trade in tobacco and other things on this river, both by the English, singly and in companies, and by us Dutchmen, so that there have been years when eight, nine, and more ships at a time from the United Netherlands have been on this river." (*Nieuwe Wereldt*, eds. of 1625, 1630, bk. xv, cap. 21.) In his Latin text (not cited by Hartsinck), which was published some years later, this statement was somewhat expanded as follows: "In the meantime, and even earlier, several expeditions were undertaken both by the English and by our people [the Dutch] to the river Orinoco and the town of Santo Thomé for the purpose of trading, and especially for tobacco, which is there diligently cultivated by the Spaniards; so that, as rests on good authority, our people sometimes went up that river with eight or nine ships in a single year and bargained with the governor of Santo Thomé, before the King of Spain had by a most severe interdict forbidden all Spaniards to carry on trade with foreigners."

Now, it is certain that Santo Thomé itself was not in existence before 1591 or 1592

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suggester was an Englishman. On June 10, 1581, one Captain Butz (or Batz, as his name is spelled by turns—it was not

(see, as to this, Professor Jamesou's report); aud the prohibition meant must be the edict of February 27, 1603, or, more probably, those of April 25 and May 11, 1705 (see p. 154, note). This, therefore, is the period to whieh Jan de Laet's statement must apply; and this tallies with what little else we know of tbis Oriuoco trade. Of course, all that could be learned from the passage in any case would be, not that the Duteh, but that the Spaniards were already established iu Guiana. Mr. Schomburgk, however, not only falls into the blunder of Hartsinek, but makes the passage more tributary to his argument by addiug (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) to the statement "so early as 1580 the Duteh navigated the Orinoco" tbe further statement "and settlements were attempted on sueh parts as were not occupied by the Spaniards." This is, so far as I eau determine, a wholly unsupported assumption.

Anotber error, whose evolution it is not quite so easy to traee, is that whieh appears in its most fully developed form in the History of British Guiana by Mr. Rodway, where we read (i, p. 3) that before tbe end of the sixteeuth eentury Duteh traders had established depôts for Indian produets on the Guiana eoast, and that "two sueh depôts were established in Guiana about the year 1580, the one in the Pomeroon, and the other at a small Indian village ealled Nibie in tbe Abary Creek." The historian even goes into minute partieulars as to the management of these depôts, telling us that "only about ten [men] were left at the store, one of whom was naturally made Commander"—with mueh else of pieturesque detail. But, convincingly circumstantial as all this is, there is, I fear, not the slightest doubt that all the faet it eontains is antedated by a eentury. A hundred years later there was indeed a trading post on the Pomeroon (see Extracts, p. 145), though by no means so well-manned as iu Mr. Rodway's deseriptiou; aud there was then also, or had lately been, an Iudiau village near tbe ereek Abary whieh the Duteh knew by the name of Naby—i. e., "Near-by" (see A. v. Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, Amsterdam, 1695).

How these slight elements grew to sueh stately proportions can in part be eonjectured. Mr. Rodway's immediate sponsor was perhaps his predeeessor, Dr. Dalton, whose History of British Guiana (i, p. 105) tells nearly the same story, less the details as to the management of the posts. The post Nibie is here, however, only a post "where there was an Indian village ealled Nibie." For the souree of a statemeut by Daltou oue is prone at once to turn to Hartsinek, on whom he draws for nearly every faet of this early history and seldom witbout misunderstauding him; but in this iustance there is elearly au intermediary. Dr. Dalton has but transeribed the passage, with slight ehanges in wording, from Mr. Sehomburgk's *Description of British Guiana* (pp. 81, 82). Where Mr. Schombuigk found it, he does not tell us; but I thiuk I am able to guess. In a little eollectiou of tbe colonial laws published at Georgetown iu 1825 under the title of "*The Demerara and Essequebo Vade-Mecum*" there is an historical introduction whieh is almost certaiuly a connecting link between Hartsiuck's statements and their enlargement by Mr. Schomburgk. In this we read (p. 1): "Their first settlements [i. e., the first settlements of the Duteh] were made near the River Essequebo, towards the River Pomeroon, or Bouweroon, and ou Abary Creek, where there was a small Indian village ealled Naby." And, in the chronologieal table whieh follows, there appears as the first item:

"1580—About this period the Zeelauders attempted small settlements, for the

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improbably Butts or Bates), who had already made five voyages to the Indies, offered to the provincial Estates of Holland

purpose of traffic with the native tribes, on the banks of the Amazon, Oronoco and Pomeroon, on which last they had a small establishment called *Nova Zeelandia*."

Now, in this form it is not hard to trace both elements of the story to the pages of Hartsinck. That historian, at the beginning of his chapter on the settlement of the Dutch in Guiana (i, p. 206), declares that "the trade of the Hollanders and Zeelanders, not only to the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, but to the whole coast of Guiana, seems to have begun in or shortly before the year 1580," and a little later (p. 207) he gives their colony on the Essequibo the name of "Nova Zelandia." As this is a palpable confusion with the later Nova Zelandia, which he places on the Pomeroon, it was natural enough that his borrower should combine the later location with the earlier date. That Hartsinck is wrong, both as to date and as to location, will presently be seen. As to the alleged settlement on the creek Abary, what Hartsinck says is at the beginning of his chapter on Berbice (i, p. 280). "The boundary of this colony to the northwest is at the creek Abary or Waybari, which lies about three miles from the river of Berbice and on which there is established a post of this colony; and which, as is related, separates the colony from Demerary in pursuance of an agreement made in the year 1672 between the Commandeur of Essequebo and the Secretary of Berbice, Mr. Adriaan van Berkel, as empowered thereto, whereby it was stipulated that they of Berbice should withdraw a post of fifteen or sixteen men which they had stationed in the Indian village *Naby*, about three hours from Demerary, for the buying up of dyes and other wares from the Indians, and should leave the west side of the creek to them of Essequebo." Now, it is conceivable that one whose Dutch was scanty, finding this the first thing stated about the colony of Berbice, might have understood "*grenspaalen*," boundary, to mean settlement; and, thus started, have gained from the rather clumsy sentence only a confused idea of an early post. In any case, other basis for the legend is not to be found. That Hartsinck has himself somewhat misunderstood Van Berkel, whom he cites as his authority, is to us of no moment.

It must not, however, be inferred that all historians have fallen into these errors. The more scholarly history of the Guiana colonies by General Netscher rejects though it does not fully expose them; and the standard historian of the rise of the Dutch sea-power, the able and conscientious De Jonge, writing as an archivist in full possession of all the sources, long ago pointed out (vol. i, p. 46, note) that only Hartsinck's misunderstanding of De Laet is responsible for so early a connection of the Dutch with Guiana.

The claim of the British Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1," p. 4) is more moderate and its source quite different. "There is abundant evidence," it says, "coming from Spanish sources, that during the latter half of the century, prior to 1590, the Dutch had established themselves on the coast of Guiana;" and in support of this it refers to the "letters, etc., 1588–1693," of the province of Cumaná, in the Spanish Archives of the Indies. I can only regret, as Professor Jameson has already done, that no item of this abundant evidence has been given to the world, and must add not only that I have found in Dutch official sources nothing to support this claim, but that it seems wholly inconsistent with what I have learned from them.

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to make another in their interest if they would fit out three or four more ships to send with his own. The proposition was referred to a committee, and was further discussed in the sessions of June 14 and July 7; but on July 22, notwithstanding the evident favor of the project by the Stadhouder, the Estates declined the Englishman's offer. "As regards the proposed voyage of Captain Batz to the lands of Peru and the islands lying thereabout," says their resolution, "the Estates of Holland, in view of the great burdens of the land for the carrying on of the war, can not undertake the expense required; yet," they add (perhaps to let the stranger down as easily as possible), "the Estates will look on with approval if any private individuals in the cities of Holland care to aid the project, and will even lend a helping hand thereto "[1] As was long ago pointed out by Dutch scholars, nothing seems ever to have come of it,[2] and the enterprise, if carried out, would have been rather a feat of war[3] than a commercial enterprise. Yet the episode shows that to the Dutch all Spanish South America was still Peru, and that a venture thither was a serious matter. There is no reason to suppose that the objective point was Guiana rather than any other part of Terra Firma or the West India islands, and that Dutch settlements already existed on these shores is, of course, out of the question.[4]

[1] All the passages relating to this episode are printed in full, among the transcripts, in Vol. II of the report of the Commission, pp. 3–8. For brevity's sake, I shall henceforward refer to these "Extracts from Dutch Archives" as "Extracts" simply.

[2] De Jonge, *Nederlandsch Gezag*, i, p. 35; Berg van Dussen Muilkerk, in the *Gids* for November, 1848.

[3] "*Meer een op zich zelf staand oorlogs-feit dan eene Nederlandsche handels-onderneming*," is De Jonge's phrase.

[4] Yet it is precisely this episode on which Mr. Schomburgk bases his statement (Blue-Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) that "the States-General privileged, in 1581, certain individuals to trade to these settlements exclusively"—i. e., to the Dutch settlements postulated by him (see p. 136, note). There is question neither of the States-General, nor of a privilege, nor of trade, nor of

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It is nearly a decade and a half before I again find mention in Dutch official records of any expedition to the coasts or islands of South America. Then, in March of 1595, the Estates of Zeeland granted freedom of convoy to one Balthazar de Moucheron for a cargo of goods to the Spanish Indies. This was, of course, for peaceful traffic, and his objective point would seem to have been the island of Margarita, long the leading Spanish entrepôt for these parts.[1] It was just at this time that by a Zeeland ship, not impossibly this one, was discovered just south of that island of Margarita, on the Spanish mainland of South America, the remarkable deposit of salt which for years made Punta de Araya (or Punta del Rey, as the Dutch more often called it) one of the leading destinations of Dutch commerce; and the established route thither led along the whole length of the Guiana coast.[2] In the same year there is record of a venture to Santo Domingo by a union of Holland and Zeeland merchants.[3] In the following year we hear of another Zeeland expedition to the Spanish Indies,[4] and there were not improbably many similar enterprises not mentioned in the records, for it was only when

settlements, nor yet of Guiana. He has been misled by a careless statement of Hartsinck (i, p. 206)—a careless statement strangely misunderstood.

"I have searched once more, with Mr. Telting" (the archivist in charge of the West India papers), writes me General Netscher, the eminent historian of the Guiana colonies, under date of November 30, 1896, in kind confirmation of my own research on this point, "all the resolutions of the States-General of 1581, and some years thereabout, but we did not find anything."

[1] At least De Jonge is probably right in connecting (i, p. 46) this expedition of Moucheron with Van Meteren's mention of a voyage to Margarita.

[2] Van Rees, *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland*, ii, p. 3. (Cf. also Jan de Laet's chapter on *Araya* in his *Nieuwe Wereldt*). The *Remonstrantie* described below (pp. 151–153) speaks of this route of the salt ships, which is else well known. (For the passage, see Extracts, p. 33.)

[3] De Jonge, i, p. 46.

[4] That Moucheron and Adriaen ten Haeff had part in this, as Netscher states (p. 2) is only a guess of De Jonge's (i, p. 46).

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freedom from convoy dues was sought that legislative action was needed, and even after the establishment of the admiralties no ship need seek a commission unless it chose.[1]

It was in 1591 or 1592, according to his own statement, that William Usselinx, the inspirer above all others of the West India trade, returning from the Spanish islands, began his agitation in the Netherlands in behalf of Dutch trade with South America.[2] I have already spoken (p. 135, note) of Jan de Laet's statement as to Dutch trade with the Spaniards on the Orinoco even before Raleigh's expedition of 1595. Yet it is improbable that this trade to the West Indies antedates 1594; for to that year is ascribed[3] the beginning of direct trade with Brazil, and all tradition and probability make Brazil the earliest, as it was the nearest, destination of Dutch trade in America.[4]

It will be noted that as yet, so far as the records show, the trade is with recognized Spanish settlements, and therefore not of a sort to create a territorial title. Of Guiana or of direct trade with the Indians, there is thus far no mention.[5]

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[1] See resolution of the States-General, 22 Dec., 1599 (Rijksarchief, Hague).

[2] See his *Memorie aenwysende*, etc. (Rijksarchief, Hague, and printed by Van Rees), p. 1.

[3] See De Jonge (i, p. 36,) citing a manuscript *Deductie* in the Dutch Rijksarchief. The Brazil of that day, it must be remembered, was not thought of as reaching as far north as to the Amazon.

[4] "De oudste geregelde vaart op de kusten van America door onze zeelieden, is geweest de vaart op Brazilië."—*De Jonge* (i, p. 35). *Indirect* trade with Brazil, by way of Portugal, was in vogue at least as early as 1590.

[5] For the genealogy of the story that in 1596 the Spaniards found Dutch colonists in the Moruca, I may refer to the convincing discussion of Professor Jameson (pp. 58–60, above). The British Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1") happily ignores this claim; but it adds a fresh one of its own. It states that "Ibarguen in 1597 . . . visited the Essequibo and reported white men, who can be shown to have been the Dutch, to be settled high up the river;" and in support of this statement it cites without transcription a considerable portion of the Spanish archives. I am indebted to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government for the exact passage. The Spanish explorer Ibarguen, reporting in 1597 to the King, states that he visited the Essequibo where (it is the following phrase only which is given me in the words of the original) "he heard very great news of the men who were clothed and fighting with arms."

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But in 1596 there was published in England a book which set the imagination of all Europe on fire—Sir Walter Raleigh's "*Discoverie of Guiana*." It called universal attention to the wealth of these coasts and to the advantages of trade with the natives. The Netherlands were not the last to feel its influence. Already before the end of 1596 one begins to hear in the records of the States-General of the trade with the West Indies; and on March 24, 1597, the merchant-banker Hans van der Veken, of Rotterdam, was granted a commission for two vessels, "manned with Germans and other foreigners, to go to the coast of Guinea [in Africa], Peru, and the West Indies, and there to trade and bargain with the savages," this commission "containing also request to all princes and potentates to let these ships and their crews pass freely and in peace thither and return again to these provinces."[1] Guiana is not yet mentioned; but, in the children's phrase, we are growing warm. On September 3 of this same year (1597) the States-

How these are known to be "white men" and "settled" and "high up the river," or how they "can be shown to have been the Dutch," I have not learned. In Dutch documents also I find mention, indeed, of men in the interior of Guiana who are clothed and who fight with arms; but these are only the fabled inhabitants of El Dorado—whom, by the way, it was precisely Ibarguen's errand to seek. But there is another passage of this report of Ibarguen's which, if correctly reported, shows unquestionably the presence of Dutchmen as traders on this coast. Mr. Rodway, writing in the Guiana magazine *Timehri* for December, 1896, and apparently ascribing his information to Mr. Reddan, now of the British Foreign Office, states that Ibarguen (who, it seems, was the sergeant-major of Domingo de Vera, the leader of the body of Spanish colonists sent in 1596 to the Orinoco) says in his report that on his way from the Orinoco to the Essequibo he arrested "five Flamencos in a boat, who were trading with the Indians of Barima." And this account seems borne out by the statement regarding Ibarguen's report—unfortunately, without quotation or literal translation—which I owe to Her Majesty's Government. Yet this at most shows Dutchmen, not in the Essequibo, but in or near the mouth of the Orinoco, and suggests only that Dutch trade to Santo Thomé of which we already know from the pages of Jan de Laet. In the following year (1598) two Dutch expeditions, as we know from the journal of one of them, stopped thus to trade with the Indians in the Barima on their way up the Orinoco to Santo Thomé. (Cf. p. 144, below, and vol. ii of the Commission's report, p. 17.)

[1] For the passage in full see Extracts, p. 9.

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General were requested by Gerrit Bicker and his associates, merchants of Amsterdam, "who have it in mind to equip two ships, so as to send them to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, being a place where never any from these [Nether]lands have been, and which is also not held by the Spaniards or the Portuguese," to grant them freedom of convoy both going and coming, "and this for two full voyages, if so be that God Almighty should be pleased to bless their first voyage as they hope,—and this out of regard to the great sums they will lay out on this voyage and the risk therein lying." Whereupon it was resolved to grant them the desired convoy "to a certain coast and haven of *America Peruana*, provided that they shall lade in the aforesaid ships no forbidden goods, and that they shall further be bound, on their return, to bring satisfactory evidence that never anybody from these lands has traded to the aforesaid haven, and shall make true report in the meeting of the States-General of their experiences, with specification of the places where they have been and have carried on their trade." And "it is the understanding," goes on the record, "that like freedom shall be granted to others who shall likewise desire to go to other unknown havens." "But this," ends this significant passage, "the deputies of Zeeland declared themselves uninstructed to grant."[1]

The encouragement was not lost; for but three months later, on December 15, 1597, Jan Cornelisz. Leyn, of Enkhuisen, and his partners, having it in mind with two ships "to sail to the land of Guiana, situate in the realm of Peru," sought freedom of convoy for their first six voyages, both going and returning. Whereupon it was voted to grant their request, but only for the two voyages "which they have it in mind to

[1] Extracts, pp. 9, 10.

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make with their two ships to the unknown and unnavigated havens of America, to wit, to the land of Guiana, situate in the Kingdom of Peru, as herein specified;" and this upon precisely the same conditions as to lading and report as in the preceding case.[1] And a week later, on December 23, the Estates of Holland voted aid toward the arming of this expedition "to Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru".[2]

"*Het Landt van Guiana gelegen in het Coninckryck van Peru:*" clearly we have in these expeditions the very earliest Dutch voyages to the Guiana coast. And luckily, to make the matter doubly sure, we have left us from one of these voyages, and that the first, the stipulated final report to the States-General. At least, there is no reason to doubt that the ship's clerk, Cabeliau, whose "report concerning the unknown and unsailed course [*voiage*] of America, from the river Amazon as far as the island of Trinidad,"[3] still rests in the archives of the States-General, and who sailed from Holland in a squadron of two ships on December 3, 1597, was the scribe of this expedition to "America Peruana." Having lost sight of their smaller vessel on the way, Cabeliau's party reached the American coast on February 9, 1598, at a point near the mouth of the Caurora, just west of the Cayenne, five degrees by their reckoning north of the equator. As they lingered to trade with the Indians in the Cayenne, where they found an English ship busy with the same errand, there arrived also on June 3, 1598, two ships of that other expedition "to Guiana, in the realm of Peru;" and with these they "joined company in order together to explore the entire coast as far as to the river Orinoco." As far as the Corentyn they pushed into all the rivers as they went, finding nowhere European occupation, but trading with the natives. "Between the rivers Corentyn and Orinoco

[1] Extracts, pp. 10, 11. [2] Extracts, pp. 11, 12. [3] Extracts, p. 13.

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are these rivers: Berbice, Apari, Maychawini, Maheyca, Demirara, Dessekebe [Essequibo], Pauroma [Pomeroon], Moruga, Wayni. These neither singly nor in company did we visit or trade in, because our time was nearly used up and because the Indians gave us to believe that there was not much there to get, and also because our provisions were growing scant, so that we did nothing more than to cruise along the coast, in order to take knowledge of it, until we reached the river Orinoco." But into the river Orinoco, the Barima, and the Amacura they sailed, "and there bartered and traded;" then pushed up the Orinoco "about 40 [Dutch] miles, to the place or settlement where the Spaniards stay, which is named St. Thomé, where Don Fernando de Berreo is Governor and also Marquis of Guiana, the river Orinoco and all the coasts being still unconquered as far as the river Amazon." Thence wending their way homeward, they were able to report that "in this voyage we have discovered, found, and navigated more than twenty-four rivers, many islands in the rivers, and various havens besides, which have hitherto neither been known in these provinces nor sailed to therefrom; nay, more, were before our voyage unknown to any map or geographer."[1] And to this statement, Cabeliau, "as clerk of this expedition," makes affidavit. It was the certificate demanded by the States-General, and its validity was conceded, for on October 19, 1599, the freedom of convoy conditioned upon it was without protest awarded by the States-General to Gerrit Bicker and Company, "having made the voyage to America Peruana," as already on August 11 it had been to their colleagues "returned from Guiana, in the Kingdom of Peru."[2]

By these acts the supreme political authority of the Nether-

[1] For Cabeliau's journal in full, see Extracts, pp. 13–22.

[2] Extracts, p. 11, note.

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lands becomes a witness that the coast of Guiana was theretofore unvisited by the Dutch. An investigator of political titles may well be content with such evidence. Nor is there, so far as I can find, the slightest reason to question its truth.[1]

While these expeditions were still abroad, on November 16, 1598, three other Amsterdam merchants asked freedom of convoy for a ship which they were lading "to sail to the coasts of America, into the realm of Guiana and other islands thereabout, in which quarter ships from these lands have never been;" and it was granted for two voyages on the same terms as to the others.[2] And, not long after their return, on November 9, 1599, "at the request of Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxsz. de Vries *cum suis*, merchants and burghers of Haarlem, who are making ready a certain ship . . . wherewith to sail along the coasts of Guiana in America, in order to seek the rivers of Wiapoco and Orinoco and there to find again a certain mineral stone lately brought from there

[1] To this same expedition seem to belong the oldest existing Dutch maps of any part of this coast, one of them dated 1598 and both now in the collection of the Dutch Rijksarchief. See De Jonge's excellent note on them (i, p. 50). For reproductions of them see the Atlas of the Commission, maps 57, 58. One represents the mouth of the Cayenne, the other the southwest coasts of Trinidad. These are precisely the places where we know the expedition to have lingered. De Laet, in his description of the Wiapoco (ed. of 1630, p. 568; ed. of 1633, pp. 638, 639), quotes from the journal of another Dutch expedition which was there in 1598, and which was very possibly that of the great and little *Sphera Mundi*, which joined Cabelian's party off the Cayenne; for, although Cabelian almost certainly did not visit the Wiapoco, he cites it among the rivers of their joint discovery. So, too, in speaking of the Amazon De Laet says (ed. of 1633, p. 634): "In the year 1598, and even earlier, the merchants of Amsterdam and others sent their ships to these coasts, that they might open and establish trade with the savages who inhabit these coasts" (*anno 1598 et etiam ante, Amstelodamenses atque alii mercatores naves suas ad has oras destinarunt, ut commercium cum barbaris qui has oras accolebant constituerent et stabilirent*); and he tells the story of one of these ships, which, finding itself by accident off the Amazon, explored the mouth of that river. This is the earliest date for the presence of the Dutch in this region which is anywhere named by this well-informed and almost contemporary historian.

[2] Extracts, pp. 12, 13.

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into this country as a specimen by Jacob Adriaensz., mate at Haarlem," they were granted freedom of convoy for two voyages under the usual conditions.[1]

But all these venturers were from the province of Holland.[2] Where, then, were the Zeelanders, to whom has so long been ascribed the earliest traffic with this coast? When, a century and a half later, there burst forth the quarrel, long festering between the merchants of Holland and of Zeeland, as to the right of the latter to the monopoly of the trade with Essequibo, the Zeelanders ransacked all old documents within their reach and put forth memorial after memorial to prove that the trade with Guiana had from its beginning been in their hands. But, while they discreetly kept silence regarding these early expeditions of the Hollanders, their search revealed nothing earlier in support of their own claim than a certain minute of the proceedings of the provincial Estates of Zeeland on November 20, 1599, which deserves to be quoted here in full:

In the matter of the request of the Burgomaster of Middelburg, Adriaen ten Haeft, setting forth how that, in the preceding year, 1598, at heavy cost to himself, he caused to be investigated on the continent of America many different rivers and islands; and how that in this voyage were discovered various coasts and lands where one could do notable damage to the King of Spain; and how that he is well minded to send out again two ships in order, in the country's behalf, to discover certain places, a thing which can not be done so effectively with seafaring folk alone. Wherefore, and in view of the fact that in Holland, for the encouragement of exceptional enterprises of this sort, great favor is shown to the promoters of such voyages, such as the providing them with cannon, powder, and soldiers, he doth petition that there be granted to his ships from 16 to 20 experienced soldiers, among them a

[1] Extracts, p. 23.

[2] That De Jonge (*Nederlandsch Gezag*, i, p. 54) ascribes to Isaac Lemaire a share in this trade with the Spanish Indies is due to an odd misreading of "in Tierra Firma" for "in eommuni forma" in the minutes of the States-General for April 15, 1600 (Rijksarchief, Hague).

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good commandant, and doth engage that he will himself provide their rations. Whereupon the representative of the nobility gave verdict that commerce ought here to receive the same favor as in Holland, and that therefore it ought to be learned through the deputies there [i. e., to the States-General] just what is done in Holland in this behalf, in order to be able to do the same here; the deputies of Middelburg, however, grant soldiers to the number of 16; those of Ziericzee likewise, to the number of 12, on half wages, subject to the approval of their constituents; those of Goes, Tholen, Flushing, and Vere promise that they will send in at once their report to their town councils on this point, and that the councils will find out what is done in Holland in such cases.[1]

There is here no mention of Guiana; and of the enterprise itself there is never again mention in the minutes of the Zeeland Estates. That Guiana was its destination is probable enough, but probable only. What it seems safe to infer is that this was the beginning of Zeeland's dealings with these unsettled coasts of the West,—that the coasts in view were conceived of as belonging to the King of Spain,—and that the enterprise was one of hostile aggression. In this last lies its significance; the employment of soldiers in an unsettled region can hardly point to anything less than an attempt at the occupation of territory,

[1] *Notulen*, 1599; for the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 23. I have sought diligently but in vain in the provincial archives of Zeeland for anything in the accompanying papers of this year or of the following which could throw further light on this enterprise. The later papers which cite this in support of the claims of Zeeland in Guiana are the *Bericht* published to the world by the Estates of Zeeland in the latter half of 1750, and reprinted in the Nederlandsche Jaerboeken for December of that year (pp. 1492–1519), and the memorial of the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company on the same subject, of August 23, 1751 (Nederlandsche Jaerboeken, 1751, ii, pp. 1079–1135). It should perhaps be remembered that it was in this year 1599 that there sailed forth from the Zeeland port of Flushing the Dutch armada under Pieter van der Does, which, after taking a town in the Canaries and avenging at the Isle de Principe that unsuccessful enterprise of Balthazar de Moucheron in 1598 which Berg van Dussen Muilkerk calls the "earliest attempt at colonization from out the Netherlands," sent seven or eight of its ships across the Atlantic to ravage the coast of Brazil. They returned, with great booty of sugar, in the following year.

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and we seem here to have the earliest known effort of the Dutch to establish themselves on the coasts of America. One may even guess where the blow was struck. Jan de Laet, writing in 1624 of the Amazon, tells us that "our Netherlanders began some years ago to visit this great river, and the men of Flushing established on it two forts, besides dwelling-places—one of them on Coyminne, which is like an island . . and is reckoned to be some 80 miles up the river. The other, named Orange, lies 7 miles lower down."[1] In the Latin text of the same work, published in 1633, he devotes a whole chapter to Dutch relations with the Amazon, having now learned of the visiting of that river by Netherlanders in 1598.[2] "Others also in the following years," he adds, "attempted to enter and explore the great river Amazon, and in this the enterprise and industry of the Zeelanders was especially conspicuous;" and to these as a whole, not to the men of Flushing alone, he now ascribes the colony and the two forts.[3] Two pages further on he speaks of a neighboring river, the Aracoa, "which our people explored in the year 1600."[4] One or both of these deeds may belong to Ten Haeff's expedition; if not,

[1] *Nieuwe Wereldt*, eds. of 1625, 1630 (p. 562 of the latter). This is the source of the statement in the Zeeland memorial of 1750, which has crept thence into all the histories. Blaeuw's *Nieuwe Wereldt* is there cited; but Blaeuw's *Nieuwe Wereldt* is only De Laet's text set to Blaeuw's maps. Unfortunately the Zeeland memorial carelessly puts the forts "not far from" the Amazon, and makes the date "about the same time" as Ten Haeff's venture. Before De Laet's edition of 1630, the colony had already been destroyed by the Portuguese: in 1629 it was found in ruins by the Dutch, a fact which finds due insertion in that edition. This establishment was doubtless that "tobacco-plantation on the Amazon" for which the Zeelanders claimed reimbursement in 1621 (see p. 159, below). In De Laet's history of the West India Company (Leyden, 1644) we learn of the date of its destruction (1625), and of the flight of the survivors to the Wiapoco. (De Laet, *Historie*, pp. 111–113; and cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 53–57.)

[2] See note, p. 145, above.

[3] *Novus Orbis*, 1633, p. 634.

[4] *Novus Orbis*, p. 636.

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it has left no trace. But, if these were its work, they show, what might antecedently have been expected and what seems confirmed by the subsequent history, that the Dutch occupation of Guiana began at the extreme east.

There is, indeed, one statement afloat which would seem to contradict this. In his memorandum in support of the boundary urged by him, Mr. Schomburgk states: "It is said that at the close of that century [the sixteenth] a Chamber of Merchants existed at Middelburg, trading to the River Barima."[1] By whom it is said, or when, or where, he does not so much as hint. The historians of Guiana, one and all, know naught of it. The historians of Dutch commerce are as ignorant. The Zeelanders themselves in 1750 found nothing so precious to their search. I have sought it faithfully, but in vain, among the manuscript records of the Dutch. The English searchers have not found it in their Spanish documents. After a prolonged search through the literature of the subject, I am fain to confess that I can find no item of fact out of which it could have been evolved.[2]

Another error, more easy to trace and expose, is that set afloat by Hartsinck (i, p. 207) of a charter of freedom of convoy granted by the States-General on July 10, 1602, to certain Zeeland merchants for trade with the coast of Guiana. As he gives his sources, it is easy to establish that there was no charter, that the merchants were not Zeelanders, and that their destination was not the Guiana coast. The applicants were that same Jan van Penen and Gerrit Diricxz. de Vries whom we already know from an earlier petition[3] to have been

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25.

[2] Is it possible that it can be but a confusion with the Middelburg colony of the following century (1658–1665) in the Pomeroon, the resemblance of whose earlier name—Baroma, Baruma—to that of the Barima has given rise to so many misconceptions?

[3] See p. 145, above.

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merchants of Haarlem. What they asked was, first, freedom of convoy for a single voyage, and, second, its continuation for subsequent ones. The States-General referred the matter to the Admiralty of Amsterdam, instructing that body to grant the first request when the voyage had actually been made, but to refuse the second altogether. Accordingly, when, in January, 1604, the petitioners presented themselves to the Admiralty, proof of their voyage was insisted on; and it then came to light that its real destination was to ascend the river Orinoco (probably in search of the precious metals, as in their expedition of 1599). Up that river, however, "by reason of the multitude of the Spaniards whom they found there," the Dutch ship had been unable to penetrate. Freedom of convoy for this voyage was granted; and there was an end of the matter.[1]

The imposing list of Zeeland merchants which Hartsinck couples with this supposed charter as traders "about this time" to the coast of Guiana is borrowed mainly from the Zeeland memorial of 1750,[2] and is only a list of patroons taken at random from a record book still extant, which covers nearly the whole seventeenth century.[3] Yet Hartsinck's list, which adds to these the Haarlem merchants just mentioned, and even their captain, Rijk Hendrikszoon, is repeated, with more or less of respect, by all later historians, including even the careful De Jonge[4] and Netscher.[5]

[1]This error is partially exposed by Netscher (p. 39). For the documents in full, see Extracts, pp. 25, 26.

[2]*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, ii, p. 1085.

[3]The Book of Commissions, etc., 1626–1671, of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company. I shall later speak of this more fully.

[4]*Nederlandsch Gezag*, i, p. 53.

[5]Page 38. The "Jan van Pere," whose name seems to have been especially seductive to these writers is, I am convinced, a myth, suggested only by the Haarlem "Jan van Penen." The first Van Pere known to the records of the West India Company is Abraham; and he first took his seat as a director on October 5, 1626. The colony of Berbice, which gave his name such prominence, was not founded till 1627. Cf. Extracts, pp. 15, 44, 45.

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Traders, indeed, there doubtless were. Under date of the year 1600 the well-informed contemporary, Van Meteren, points out, in his annals of the Dutch, the motives which impelled to the West Indian trade and gradually changed its character. "The United Netherlands also sought, in furtherance of their commerce, to discover means of trade with the West Indies, and sent many ships (and great ones withal) to the uninhabited West India islands after salt. * * * This trade came very opportunely, since the trade to the coasts of Africa, or Guinea, by reason of the multitude of ships which from all lands repaired thither, gave no longer so good profit as at first. Therefore they endeavored, through this trade to the salt islands, gradually to open a commerce with the West Indies, without seeking to make any conquests there, but rather to win the friendship of the Indians and to protect them against the Spaniards, for whom, apart from this, they have no love, and thus to come into traffic with them—a course which in time must develop a trade, since the Dutch can sell all wares cheaper by half than do the Spaniards, on account of the heavy Spanish taxes and tolls."

That the trade with Guiana, once set in motion, was not allowed to sleep one may, therefore, even in the absence of explicit data, well believe; and that at least one Dutchman was keenly alive to the opportunity and need of fortifying this trade by the establishment of colonies we have cogent evidence. There lies in the archives at The Hague a petition, unsigned and undated, but bearing the title, "Remonstrance to the States-General of these United Provinces on the subject of the colonization of the coasts of Guiana in America." A transcript of that document I have the honor to lay before you.[1] I believe it, on the ground of its ideas and its style, the work of Willem Usselinx, the well-known originator of

[1] Extracts, pp. 27–36.

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the Dutch West India Company, and to be identical with that discourse on the colonization of the Indies of which he himself tells us in a pamphlet of the year 1608.[1] But, whatever may be thought as to its authorship, it will hardly be questioned that this was the petition which was dealt with by the States-General on February 25, 1603. "I doubt not," begins the paper, "that it is well enough known to the States-General what a rich, beautiful, fruitful, populous, pleasant, and

[1] In his *Vertoogh, hoe nootwendich*, etc. (cf. Professor Jameson's *Usselinx*, note 32). "It must not be thought," he writes in this pamphlet, "that the Spaniard has so taken possession of all the most fruitful lands and places of the Indies that none are left which are of good climate, fruitful, and comfortable to dwell in, and in which profit is to be made, since we know that he is still daily making war in order to gain certain ones, while others can not well be reached by him on account of the clumsiness of his great ships, as well as through the resistance offered him there by the Indians, and some are still unknown to him. · · And if one answers that the Portuguese and other Spaniards have better advantages for this trade than we, since they have there certain places, I admit it; but when they first came thither they had not so great advantages, either in ships or otherwise, as we now have, the more so as these lands are now as well known to us as to them, and we have good opportunity to get all that we should be in need of for the establishment of colonies from certain neighboring places—which places do not need to be here specified—while the Spaniard in the beginning had to get from Spain everything that he needed. But since I have adequately treated this point in a discourse on the colonization of the Indies, which I composed some years ago, I will not here repeat it; it is enough to have shown that the means to gain a share in the rich trade of the Indies is to occupy places there with people from these lands."

That Guiana is here in his thought can hardly be douhtful to any familiar with the local conditions; and why he should not care to name it, even in citing the title of his earlier discourse, is also evident enough from the context. Van Rees, the foremost Dutch student of Usselinx's career, points out (in his *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland*, ii, p. 102) that from various expressions in his pamphlets may he inferred his scheme for the establishment of colonies on the coast of Guiana.

The "Remonstrance" is not in Usselinx's handwriting, for I have compared it with many autographs of his in the Rijksarchief and can not find the slightest resemblance. The document has strayed from its place in the archives, and Mr. Hingman, the *commies-chartermeester* who for many years has had charge of the papers of the States-General, thinks it less likely to he the original presented to that body than a copy which belonged to the provincial Estates of Holland. The absence of signature, indeed, would seem to preclude all thought of its being the original. Were the papers of the States-General complete, it source could doubtless be made certain, as well as the date of its presentation; but they are not.

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precious region, situate in America and named the province of Guiana, was now not long since discovered by some of the merchant ships of this country." His opinion of its limits and its neighbors may therefore have some slight worth to the present research. The province of Guiana in America, he says, stretches "from the great river Amazon to Punto della Rae or Trinidad." "It is so situated that the nearest districts inhabited by the Portuguese in Brazil are distant therefrom more than 300 miles. And the nearest places dwelt in by the Spaniards are also about 200 miles from the quarter where the mine above mentioned has been discovered, which one must first people and fortify; the said province being also inaccessible from the borders of the aforesaid nations (over and above the great distance) by reason of many high mountains, great wildernesses, and forests, and cut off from them by very deep rivers." The Portuguese, then, to this writer, were wholly outside the province; the Spaniards in it, but remote from the spot he would first colonize; the Dutch not yet there at all. But the States-General, however tempted, replied that for the present it could not take action as to this requested colonization of Guiana.[1]

Whether or no this document is the work of Willem Usselinx, it is certain that Usselinx was at just this time[1] urging the colonization of America in general and of Guiana in particular. "Inasmuch," writes his countryman and contemporary Van Meteren, "as the navigation and trade to the East Indies brought good business into the United Netherlands, some bethought them that a navigation and business of the same sort to the West Indies, or America, might be brought about through the creation of a well-organized Company. Among

[1] Extracts, p. 36.

[2] That Usselinx did not begin writing on this subject until 1600 we know from his own words. As to this and as to his career in general, I may refer to Professor Jameson's admirable biography of him.

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others one Willem Usselinx, of Antwerp, merchant, a man who had spent several years in Spain and in the islands everywhere, and had well posted himself as to the trade and opportunities of the West Indies, or America, disclosed and suggested in all quarters the proper means which were of use to that end. . . .

"For it was evident [he urged] that the Spaniard had still many foes in America, or the West Indies, who were strong and not easy to conquer, and who, with a little help, would be able to resist the Spaniards, especially if one should furnish them weapons and should teach them to use horses, and also to move and manipulate troops, so as to make the Spaniard show his back. For it was well known [he said] that from the island of Trinidad as far as the Equator the Spaniards had no places or fortresses. These arguments and the like, with other tidings and information possessed by him, which it would not be politic as yet to spread abroad, this Usselinx knew how to employ. Wherefore he was charged, in the year 1604, to draw up a *policie*, or prospectus, in order to see if it would find shareholders, or adequate voluntary subscription by merchants, for the formation of such a Company and the making up of a good capital.

"The prospectus consisted, first, of a complaint against the Spaniard, who sought to shut out the Dutch from all navigation, trade, and business, as was shown by his establishing in Spain a new toll (beside the old) of thirty per cent.[1] Further, that

[1] This refers to the edict of Valladolid, February 27, 1603, by which, while the closure of the Indies was reaffirmed, foreign traders were admitted to Spain itself under payment of a thirty per cent toll. Its further provisions are given by Van Meteren (in his *Nederlandtsche Historie*, sub anno 1603). Owing to the opposition made by France and England, this edict was repealed before the end of 1604 (December 11); but early in 1605 trade with the Indies was forbidden afresh under severer penalties. "In the following year, which was 1605," writes the Dutch historian Pontanus in his *Amstelodamensium Historia* (1611), "the King of Spain promulgated a severe edict, by which he sought not only to close to Hollanders and Zeelanders the realms

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there had lately been discovered certain fruitful lands and islands, of good, healthful climate, inhabited by good and friendly

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of Spain and Portugal, but strictly forbade them to navigate into any part of the Indies, East or West, under the heavy penalty of death and confiscation of all their property." It may be worth while to transcribe here, from an official compilation of these Spanish laws for the Indies (*"Sumarios de la recopilacion general de las Leyes, Ordenanças, provisiones, cedulas, instrucciones, y cartas ácordadas, ý por los Reyes Católicos de Castilla se han promulgado, expedido, y despachado, para las Indias Occidentales . . . por el licenciado Don Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña"*), published at Mexico in 1677, a summary of such relating to foreign traders as were then in force. They occur in Lib. iii, Tit. 23 (pp. 235a–237b), *"De los estrangeros, que passan á las Indias"*:

LEY I.

Que Ningun estrangero, pueda tratar, ni contratar en las Indias.

¶ D. Felipe III. en Ventosilla, á 25. de Abril, y en Valladolid, á 11. de Mayo, de 1605.

LEY II.

Que Ningun estrangero, ni persona de las prohibidas, pueda tratar, ni contratar, de estos Reynos á las Indias, ni passar á ellas, sin habilitacion, y licencia del Rey: y los que la tuvieren, lo puedan hazer con solos sus caudales: sò pena de perdimiento de bienes, y de la tal habilitacion.

¶ D. Felipe II. en Valladolid, à 27. de Iulio, de 1592.

. . . . . .

LEY V.

Que Ningun estrangero pueda passar á las Indias, ni tratar, ni contratar en ellas, ni de ellas á estos Reynos: sò pena de perdimiento de las mercadurias, aplicadas por tercias partes: en que tambien incurran los naturales, que para ello fueren supuestos.

¶ D. Felipe III. en Madrid, á 2. de Octubre, de 1608. Y á 25. de Diziembre, de 1616.

LEY VI.

Que en ningun puerto de las Indias, se admita trato con estrangeros: sò pena de la vida, y perdimiento de bienes.

¶ D. Felipe III. en S. Lorenço, á 15. de Novembre, 1611. Y allà 3. de Octubre, de 1614.

LEY VII.

Que ningun estrangero pueda estar, ni vivir en las Indias, ni passar á ellas: y los que huviere, sean echados dellas: y aviendo passado sin licencia, pierdan lo que huvieren ganado.

¶ El Emperador D. Carlos, en Madrid, á 15. de Octubre, de 1535. Y D. Felipe II. en Toledo, á 22. de Septiembre, de 1560. En Madrid, á 17. de Octubre, de 1562. En el Escurial, á 28. de Octubre, de 1565.

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folk desiring the acquaintance and friendship of the Dutch people, whom they knew to be foes of the Spaniards, in order to be helped by them against the Spanish tyranny, etc., especially the people of the interior, these being not barbarians but tolerably civilized and organized, not going naked but clothed, and well disposed, in case some people should be sent over thither to teach them, to till and cultivate their land the better, it being found adapted to the planting of sugar, ginger, oil, wine, indigo, cotton, hops, and other fruits, the soil bringing forth many sorts of useful products serving for good and valuable dyes, besides the mines of gold, silver, and other minerals, which are the sinews of war. These lands would also in time make a good market for the wares and industries of the Netherlands. Moreover, on the seacoasts of these lands there was found great abundance of salt, with which always, if there were lack of a better cargo, the ships could be ballasted and laden.

"Beside the wordly blessings, it was to be hoped also that such a trade would conduce to the honor and praise of God, inasmuch as the saving faith and the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ could thus in course of time be transplanted thither." . . .[1]

Glowing as are these pictures of the new land and clever as are the arguments for its occupation, there is (with the possible exception as to the Zeelanders on the Amazon) for long no evidence of Dutch settlement in Guiana.[2] When, in 1608, Usselinx wrote his "Exposition, how necessary, useful, and profitable it is to the United Netherlands to preserve the

[1] Van Meteren, *Nederlandtsche Historie*, sub anno 1607.

[2] The "projected Guiana company" (*geconcipieerde Guianse Compagnie*) mentioned in another manuscript memorial of this period which De Jonge has printed (pp. 257–261 of pt. i of his *Nederlandsch Gezag*) can hardly have had an actual existence, and may be an enterprise related to the petition above described. De Jonge thinks this memorial written between 1597 and 1602, and suspects Usselinx of its authorship.

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freedom of Trading to the West Indies, in the Peace with the King of Spain,"[1] he seemed to know nothing of colonies in Guiana; and it is hard to explain by any theory of politic suppression both his neglect of an argument which would so greatly have strengthened his plea and his evident eagerness for a beginning of such colonies. "All the trade that we have had in the West Indies up to now," he writes, "has been [in the district] from Margarita to Cuba, where the King of Spain has almost everywhere territory, and, since by the proposed article of the Truce we consent not to trade to places where the Spaniards are, we abandon this former trade."[2] . . . "But now let us speak of this West Indian trade, which is very unintelligently discussed by many, who urge that it is of small importance to us because we have there no places or foothold, and the trade which we have had there we abandon with the Truce. But at this we must look a little more closely; and I hope in what follows to prove the contrary."[3] . . . "For, since in the article of the Truce it is granted that we may trade and traffic in all places, havens, and cities where the King of Spain has no territory, we are therefore given liberty to trade in Florida, the Antilles, the whole seacoast of Guiana, a great part of Brazil, and beyond to the Strait of Magellan, being a good 500 miles where the Spaniard has no territory except on the Rio de la Plata; furthermore, through the Strait of Magellan, in the rich land of Chili and many other lands and islands lying in the South Sea."[4]

So writes the Dutchman the best informed of his day as to the affairs of the West Indies. The Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, which in 1609 went into effect, embodied the provisions discussed by Usselinx. The Dutch might no longer trade to the Spanish ports in the Indies, but were free to traffic, even

[1] Dutch "*Vertoogh*," etc. [2] Vertoogh, p. 6. [3] Vertoogh, p. 8. [4] Vertoogh, p. 10.

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there, with "all other princes, potentates, and peoples."[1] To the Spaniards this can hardly have implied a permission to found colonies; but the Dutch, at least in private, were hardly likely to share this view,[2] and in 1614 we find both the States-General and the provincial Estates of Holland seeking to encourage discovery and settlement by general provisions granting to the finders a temporary monopoly of trade. That such enterprises were, however, not wholly safe may be inferred from the fact that in 1618 the Zeelander Jan de Moor and his partners asked permission to arm their ships engaged in trade with the West Indies; and that the government was concerned to protect the truce is shown by its granting this only under pledge that they should not be used except in self-defense.[3] Throughout the period of this truce I have lighted on no mention of Guiana colonies in any official record, but this by no means disproves their existence; long after their existence is certain the effort to keep them a secret is demonstrable, and they scarcely appear in Dutch official papers till after the Treaty of Münster.

That there had been some attempts, at least, at settlement in Guiana may be gathered from a certain confidential report

[1]Dumont, *Corps dipl.*, v, pp. 99–102. Cf. Van Rees, i, p. 236.

[2]It was in 1609, the very year of the Truce, that the great Dutch publicist, Hugo Grotius, published (at first anonymously) his famous *Mare liberum*, whose express purpose it was to show that Spain (now, of course, inclusive of Portugal) had no right to the monopoly of the seas or of the trade of the Indies. In 1614 the work appeared in Dutch translation. Its full title is: "*Free Navigation, or Demonstration of the right of the Dutch to trade with the Indies*" (*Vrye Zeevaert, ofte Bewys van 'trecht dat den Hollanders toecompt over de Indische Coophandel*). In successive chapters the author argues that the Portuguese (and hence, of course, the Spaniards) have no right of lordship over the natives because of *discovery*, or of *Papal gift*, or of *conquest*; and, after demonstrating also the freedom of the sea, he concludes his work with a chapter showing "That the Dutch ought to retain their right to the Indian trade—be it in peace, be it in truce, be it in war." He does not speak of colonies; but the extension of his argument was easy.

[3]Zeeland Admiralty, Minutes, July 18, 1618 (Hague Rijksarchief).

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made just at the end of this truce, on January 25, 1621, to the Stadhouder, the city of Amsterdam, and the directors of the East India Company, as to the best regions for settlement in the western seas. The author, one Cornelis Janssen Vianen, who tells us that he has voyaged to Guinea, to the West Indies, along the coasts of Chile and Peru, and so around the globe, and believes he has in these travels "found the proper means to touch the Spaniard where he is weakest," thus writes of Guiana:

Sixthly, as to the opinion of some that notable profit could be made from sundry plantations and fruits, which one must first find and plant, on the continent of America between Brazil on the east and the river of Orinoco on the west, in and about the river Amazon.

I answer that sundry of our Netherlanders have there as yet by the means described made but small profit, although up to the present they trade there in peace; and it is not to be doubted that, if an attempt should be made with superior force to win the country, and through such production to drive out of the market any of the products of Brazil and the West Indies, the Spaniard will make a powerful effort to hinder it, the more so as thereby his commercial waters in Brazil and the West Indies would be obstructed. It is therefore my opinion that little is to be accomplished there, in view of the impending war—for experience has taught us here at home that the lands exposed to war yield little or no profit.[1]

Their duration, however, was probably but transient. When in 1621 there was created a Dutch West India Company with monopoly of Dutch commercial and colonial interests on the coasts of America, the only claim for reimbursement mentioned anywhere in the records is that made by the Zeelanders for their "tobacco-plantation on the river Amazon."[2]

But their foes have left us further evidence. From dis-

[1] Extracts, pp. 37, 38.

[2] See the printed minutes of the Holland Estates for 1621, under date of April 8th and April 20th. Even from this Amazon settlement the Dutch were expelled in 1625 (see note, p. 148, above).

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patches of the government of Trinidad and Spanish Guayana, reprinted by Great Britain from the Spanish archives of the Indies, we learn of a certainty that by June of 1613 the Dutch were established in the Corentyn,[1] and, though they were driven from there the next year by the Spaniards, were alleged to have already three or four more settlements between the Amazon and the Orinoco—four from the Wiapoco to the Orinoco, says a later letter of the same year. Two of these, according to a letter of the year 1615, were on the Wiapoco and the Cayenne, having been established in 1614 (so the confused passage seems to mean) by Theodoor Claessen of Amsterdam[2]—that on the Wiapoco, according to another letter, by two merchants of Flushing. It is probable that these others were on neighboring rivers, that on the Corentyn being the westernmost.[3]

Nor does all this wholly lack confirmation from Dutch records. In the archives at The Hague there is, or was, an ancient sketch map of the Cayenne, bearing no date but showing settlements with the names of Dutchmen appended; this De Jonge

[1] To the fact of this Dutch colony on the Corentyn, though not to its precise date, there is Dutch testimony also. "On this river Corentyn," writes Jan de Laet in the earliest edition (1625) of his *Nieuwe Wereldt*, "we Dutchmen traded and also kept people there many years ago (*veel jaren gheleden*); their High Mightinesses, the States-General, had granted a charter therefor (*hadden daer Octroy van verleent*)."

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 52, 53; "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 204–206.

[3] On the map of Jan de Laet, first published in 1625, and probably drafted in 1624 (De Laet's preface is dated November 15, 1624), there appear along the coast and rivers east and west of the Wiapoco and Cayenne, as well as on these streams themselves, a number of the tiny circles which elsewhere on this map indicate villages, European or native. To most of them no names are attached, and they indicate possibly Indian towns, possibly settlements; but it is noticeable that the westernmost are on the Corentyn. (They are oddly retained, with no additions, in the maps of Blaeuw.) Quite apart from this, the interpretation of which is doubtful, it is highly probable that it was the westernmost settlement which would most attract Spanish notice and Spanish hostility; and this seems from the Spanish documents to have been just the case with that on the Corentyn. After the colony on the Essequibo is known to be established, we find all Spanish aggression directed against that.

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long ago suspected to belong to a very early attempt at colonization.[1] And the Zeeland directors, in their memorial of 1751, cite a certain request addressed in 1639 to the West India Company by the veteran Zeeland merchant, Jan de Moor, which is said to show that as early as 1613 the Guiana colonies were in full existence.[2]

To all this evidence drawn from other sources should be added that, positive and negative, of the English colonizers, Leigh, Harcourt, and their fellows, whose ventures about the Wiapoco were in precisely the region where Dutch settlements are earliest vouched for by the Spanish papers. Yet, though we have from these undertakings several reports of one sort or another, and though evidence of rival Dutch enterprises would unquestionably have been of value in allaying the hesitation caused by the Spanish sympathies of King James, we find in them no mention of Dutch settlements outside the Amazon. Harcourt in 1608 made a careful exploration of the coast as far west as the Marowyn, and in his detailed *Relation* (printed in 1613, and reprinted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, 1625, vol. iv, pp. 1267–1283), he expressly says (p. 1278 of Purchas):

> . . . I took possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I took the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the rivers of *Amazones*, and *Orenoque*, not beeing actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

The territory granted him by the English King's charter stretched from the Amazon to the Essequibo.

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[1] De Jonge, i, pp. 53, 54. No map answering his description can now be found.

[2] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, ii, p. 1085. The year 1613 is thus the earliest date to which the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company in 1751, in its desperate search for evidence to sustain its monopoly of the Essequebo trade, could carry back the Guiana colonies, though it used in that search historical records now lost.

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Among the British colonial papers there exists a document addressed to the King, evidently emanating from Harcourt or one of his colleagues. It bears no date, but has by the editors of the Calendar of State Papers been conjecturally ascribed to January, 1623. It can not have been written later than March, 1625, the date of James's death. Its object is to set forth "breife motives" to maintain the right of the English "unto the River of Amazones and the Coast of Guiana." . . . "Your Majesty's subjects" it begins, "many yeares since found that countrie free from any Christian Prince or State or the subjects of any of them." "Your Majesty's subjects with the faire leave and good liking of the native inhabitants have theis 13 or 14 yeares continuallie remayned in the said River and also in the River of Wiapoco being upon the same Coaste." "Your Ma^{tie} hath bine pleased to graunte severall Commissions for these parts, and (wth good advice of your Councell) hath granted two severall letters Pattents the one in the 11th of your Raigne of England, the other, the 17th." "The Count of Gondomer[1] did bouldlie and most confidentlie affirme that his Master had the actuall and present possession of theis parts: whereupon he obtained of your Ma^{tie} a suspence and stay of all our proceedings for a tyme. And two yeares and a halfe afterward the said Embassadour caused about 300 men to be sent into the River of Amazones, then to beginn the foresaid possession and to destroy the English and Dutch there abideinge."[2]

In 1626, after the accession to the English throne of Prince Charles, to whom his book had been dedicated, Harcourt

[1] Gondomar was the Spanish ambassador in England.

[2] See *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660*, pp. 36, 37. For a certified transcript of this document, as of several others from the Public Record Office, I am indebted to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Government. For reasons why I suspect that the document should be dated a year or two later, see p. 177, note 4.

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published a fresh edition of his *Relation*, much revised and enriched. Among the added passages is this interesting account of the above-mentioned Spanish attempt to purge Guiana of strangers (p. 7):

> And here I think it fit to give notice of the dealing of a *Spanish Ambassadour* (whilest he resided in *England*) against these men [the English colonists in Guiana], after he had procured them to bee altogether abandoned by their owne Country, by his false suggestions, and violent importunity: For not content and satisfied to have wrought a suspension of all proceedings upon the Patent of the *Amazones* . . . he was still troubled at the leaving of a hundred persons in those parts . . . and underhand made a dispatch into *Spaine*, to procure a Force to supplant and ruine them; whereupon 3. ships were sent from *Spaine*, that had their directions and commission to fall in with *Brasill*, and to take in there a competent force to effect the same: which ships with 300. Portugals and Spaniards, accompanied with about 1500. of their Indians in their Periagos came into the river in the pursuite of this designe, . . . [whereupon] way (at last) was given unto the enemie, by running up farther into the Country and the inland parts, . . . so that the enemie . . . were forced to withdraw themselves into their ships, and to depart the river, leaving some of their men thereabouts, then to beginne that *actuall possession*, which the *Count of Gondomar* had two years before bouldly affirmed to be in being on the behalfe of his Master, when hee obtained the suspense of the forementioned Patent of the *Amazones*, and of all the proceedings thereupon; which act of his, may (perhaps) be esteemed in the number of his greatest practises amongst us.
>
> The mischiefe intended unto our Country men, was bitterly, at the same time, effected upon divers Dutchmen, to the losse of their lives, because they were more loosely seated, and more openly exposed unto the enemie upon the borders, or Islands of the maine river.
>
> The men left there by the Spaniards, were afterward chased quite away by the English going aboard the next Dutch ships that came into the river.

Already in his first edition (1613) Harcourt had stated that samples of the commodities of Guiana were to be seen, not

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only in his own custody, but also "in the hands of Master *Henry Hovenaar*, a Dutch-man, who in the yeare of our Lord 1610. performed a voyage to *Guiana*, to the places where our Company was seated, and now or lately did abide in Thames-streete, neare unto Cole-harbour." To this he adds, in the new edition of 1626: "The like examples have bene often (since that time) produced both by Englishmen, Dutch, and French-men, that yearely returne from thence."

In concluding his argument Harcourt again (p. 76) urges the King of England to the "obtaining and gaining the Soveraignetie of so many great, spacious, and goodly Countries and Territories, not yet actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian Prince or State whatsoever."

It is clear, too, that as late as 1609 Harcourt and his party, the Englishmen most likely to know and most interested in knowing, supposed the Spaniards still occupying the Essequibo; for it is in the closing months of that year that his cousin, Unton Fisher, whom he had left in the Marowyn for further exploration, reports on the testimony of an old Indian that "now hee [the Spaniard] hath cleare left Dissikeebee and not a Spaniard there." The only mention of the Dutch which I find in this report from Harcourt's westernmost explorer is where, in this same passage of 1609, Unton Fisher tells how the old Indian had come down to the mouth of the Surinam, hearing that the Dutch were there, to trade with them for axes; but this probably refers only to a trading ship.[1]

This silence of the English explorers as to Dutch settlement in Guiana can not weaken the force of the positive Spanish testimony, which makes it certain that as early as 1613, and at

[1] Dutch ships trading to the Wiapoco are also mentioned by the slightly earlier English explorer, Charles Leigh, in 1604. This (and the serious misunderstanding of it by the Blue Book) has been pointed out by Professor Jameson (p. 57, above). Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage*, has two or three other instances of Dutch traders met on the Guiana coast at this period.

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least until 1615, the Dutch were settled on this coast. But, in view of it, it is very unlikely that, save in the Amazon, they were there much earlier; and both the English and the Spanish evidence, as well as the Dutch, suggest that these earliest Dutch settlements may have perished in their infancy, and in part or wholly at Spanish hands.

To these must be added the testimony of the later Englishman, Major John Scott, who, not far from 1670, in his account of the colonization of Guiana, wrote thus of what he thought the earliest Dutch settlement:

> The fifth colony consisted of about 280 Zealanders, with two small ships, landed their men at Cayan, anno 1615, but could not bring the natives to a trade; were often gauled by the Indians, and were at length forced to quit their post. Returned to Zealand the same year.

The worth of this last authority must be discussed in connection with the statements as to another Guiana colony, whose story it is now time to take up. Suffice it for this first chapter to have reached, with 1613, a date at which the existence of Dutch colonies in Guiana is certain.

Thus far my results may be summed up as follows:

1. The earliest Dutch expedition to the coast of Guiana, then conceived of as a part of the Spanish kingdom of Peru, reached that coast in 1598. This expedition was formally recognized by the Dutch States-General itself as one to a place theretofore unvisited by Netherlanders.

2. The earliest Dutch settlement on this coast may possibly have been on the Amazon in the year 1600; but the earliest date at which the existence of any Dutch occupation can be affirmed with certainty, or even with probability, is the year 1613.

3. Of any claim by the Dutch to Guiana as a whole, or to any part of its western coast, there is thus far no intimation.

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2. THE DUTCH IN THE ESSEQUIBO.

That there is no credible evidence for the presence of the Dutch in this river prior to the year 1613 has already been seen.[1] All assertions of their presence there before the foundation of the Dutch West India Company in 1621 go back to two documents alone. These are aught but confirmatory the one of the other; and each deserves a closer study. Longest known and implicitly (with more or less of distortion) followed by most later writers is the memorial submitted to the States-General, on August 23, 1751, by the directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, in defense of its claim to the colony of Essequibo.[2] Its aim was of course a thoroughly partisan one. In the report published in the same behalf a year earlier (in the autumn of 1750) by the provincial Estates of Zeeland, this Guiana colony was alleged to have been in existence and in the hands of the Zeelanders prior to the establishment of the West India Company in 1621; but the only document adduced in support of this was an account book of the year 1627, which could hardly prove anything of the sort.[3] The Amsterdam Chamber, in the

[1] As to its earlier occupation by other Europeans see Professor Jameson's report (pp. 46–52) and my own paper *On the Historical Maps* (in vol. iii, pp. 188–191).

[2] The autograph original of this document is in vol. 2006 of the West India papers, in the Dutch *Rijksarchief*. It was officially printed, and was printed in the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* for 1751, pp. 1079–1135.

[3] "*Welke Colonie reeds by de Kamer Zeeland bekend en bevaren is geweest, ten tyde van het verleenen van 't Octrooi ten jare 1621. uitwyzens de oudste Boeken en Registers, en onder andere een Journael-Boek van 1627. in opvolging van dat van Conyn, in Essequebo gehouden, doende Rekening van deszelfs Administratie aen de Heeren Majoors van de Wilde Kust in Zeeland.*"—(*Ned. Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.)

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reply drawn up by it (January 9, 1751) at the request of the States-General, had passed lightly over this point, resting its claim on action of the Company at a much later period, and content with referring somewhat loftily to the published literature of the subject as showing that Hollanders, too, had traded to the Guiana coast before 1621.[1] But the Zeeland directors felt the claim important, and in their answering memorial (August 23, 1751) came to its support with what seems fresh evidence and with the skill of finished casuists.

Beginning their argument with a reminder of the project of Ten Haeff in 1599,[2] they bring into close connection with him a list of later Zeeland founders of American colonies, without feeling it necessary to point out that the earliest of these began his activity in 1626, and that they have but borrowed the names from an old West India Company record book covering the period 1626-1671. "It is true," they now add, in a sentence well calculated to muddle all later research, "that, as regards the colony of Essequibo, the name of the first projector and founder thereof we have not yet been able with certainty to learn; yet it is nevertheless more than probable that it was first visited and colonized by the Zeelanders, namely, so far as can be traced, by a certain Joost van der Hooge, who thereafter was also the first director of the Zeeland Chamber, and that, if not for several years before the creation of a General West India Company (a conclusion to which much color is given by a certain request presented to the Board of Nineteen in the year 1639 by Jan de Moor, wherefrom it becomes

[1] "*En met geen meerder gratie word beroepen tot de eerste ontdekking van Guajana en het bevaren van die Landstreek sederd het jaer 1598. tot het jaer 1670. toe. Want om Uw Hoog Mog. niet op te houden met een historieel verhael van de Equipagien zoo wel uit Holland, als van elders op de gemelde Kust voor het jaer 1621. gedaen, en waer van de publieke en met den druk gemeen gemaekte Schriften overvloedige getuigenis geeven,*" etc.—(*Ned. Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 194.)

[2] See pp. 146, 147, above.

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apparent that already as early as 1613, and so eight years before the charter was granted to the West India Company, the colonies on the Wild Coast were already in full existence), at least by the time of the beginning of that Company such an establishment must already have existed there, in view of the fact that in the first mentions of the river Essequibo in the books, registers, and minutes of the Company then brought into existence one finds this colony spoken of as of an already established possession, strengthened by a fort which then bore the name of Fort der Hooge, after an old noble Zeeland family near of kin to that of the noble lords van Borsselen, and shortly thereafter the name of Kykoveral, and yet without the slightest shadow of accompanying evidence that this had come about through the Company or at its order, as would in that case certainly appear in the resolutions of that body, and nevertheless the Zeeland Chamber was at that time in possession of that river and that fort, and also of the trade which was there carried on—these being, perhaps, brought into their hands by those individual founders themselves, who afterwards, as we have already seen, formed a part of the Zeeland Chamber of the said Company and were made directors thereof, as, for example, Messieurs Van der Hooge, Ten Haef, Elfsdyk, Van Peere, and others, who had theretofore traded to the aforesaid coast, were elected and installed as directors in the aforesaid Chamber."

"But be this as it may," they continue, taking breath in a fresh paragraph, "so long as from the side of the Amsterdam Chamber not the slightest evidence can be produced that the aforesaid colony and river, before or at the beginning of the Company, was traded to by the Hollanders or by any other inhabitants of the State except the Zeelanders, it may safely be concluded, on the hereinbefore specified and more than

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probable grounds, that the inhabitants of Zeeland alone and exclusively, from the beginning on, have traded to the aforesaid river, erected there their establishments, and, under the care and direction of the Zeeland Chamber, have remained in continuous possession thereof. '*In obscuris enim inspicere solemus quod verisimilius est,*' and '*in pari causa, possessor potior haberi debet.*'"[1]

[1] "*Het is waer, dat men ten opzichte van de Colonie van Essequebo, op voorschreve Kust insgelyks gelegen, de eerste Aenlegger en Stichter van dezelve, by name, tot hier toe niet regt heeft kunnen ontwaer worden; Edoch 't is niet te min meer dan waerschynelyk, dat dezelve door geen andere, dan door de Zeeuwen, en wel voor zoo verre men zulks kan naspeuren door zekeren Heer Joost van der Hooge, die daer na ook de eerste Bewindhebber van de gemelde Kamer Zeeland is geworden, het eerste is bezocht en bevolkt geweest, en dat zoo niet al eenige jaren, reeds voor de erectie van eene Generale Westindische Compagnie is geschied, (waer toe nogthans vele aenleidinge word gegeven door zeker Request by den Heer Joan de Moor, aen de Vergaderinge van Negentienen, ten jare 1639. gepresenteerd, waer uit komt te blyken dat de Colonien op de Wilde Kust, al ten jare 1613. en dus acht jaren voor het Octrooi, aen de Westindische Compagnie verleend, al in een volkomen wezen zyn geweest) immers al by den aenvang van de Compagnie zoodanig een Etablissement daer reeds moet geweest zyn, aengezien ook by het eerste, 't geen men in de Boeken, Registers en Notulen van die toen in stand gebrachte Compagnie van Rio Essequebo vind vermeld, men omtrent dezelve Colonie bevind gesproken te worden, als van eene reeds bevestigde Possessie, gesterkt met eene Fortres, toen al genaemd het Fort der Hooge, naer een oud Adelyk Zeeuwsch Geslacht, naeuw verbonden aen dat van de Hoog Ed. Heeren van Borsselen, en kort daer na genoemd Kykoveral, zonder dat echter daer by eenige de minste schaduwe ontdekt word, dat zulks door de Compagnie of op deszelfs ordre zoude wezen geschied, als het gene anders zeker in derzelve Resolutien wel zoude wezen gevonden, en echter was ter dier tyd de Kamer Zeeland al in de Possessie en het bezit van die Rivier en dat Fort, mitsgaders van den Handel, die aldaer werd gedreven; zynde dezelve mooglyk veelligt daer in gebragt door die particuliere Aenleggers selve, die naderhand, zoo als wy hier voren gezien hebben, een gedeelte van de Kamer Zeeland, in dezelve Compagnie hebben uitgemaekt en in het bewind van dezelve zyn gebragt geworden, zoo als de Heeren van der Hooge, ten Haef, Elfsdyk, van Peere en anderen, die op de voorschreve Kust reeds te voren geëquipeerd hadden, tot Bewindhebberen in voorschreve Kamer zyn geëligeerd en aengesteld geweest.*

"*Dan het zy hier mede zoo het wil, zoo lang men aen de zyde van de Præsidiale Kamer geen het minste bewys kan produceren, dat de voorschreve Colonie en Rivier, voor of met den aenvang van de Compagnie, by de Hollanders of eenige andere Ingezetenen van der Staet buiten de Zeeuwen is bevaren en behandeld geworden, zoo kan en mag men, uit de reeds hier voren opgegevene en meer dan waerschynelyke gronden, veilig besluiten dat de Zeeuwsche Ingezetenen alleen en privatelyk de voorschreve Rivier, van begin af, hebben bevaren, hunne Etablissementen aldaer opgerecht en onder de bezorginge en directie van de Kamer Zeeland daer van in eene gecontinueerde Possessie zyn gebleven. In obscuris enim inspicere solemus, quod verisimilius est, arg. legis 114. ff. de Regulis Juris: et in pari causa, possessor potior haberi debet; sec. l. 138. eod. tit.*"—(*Nederlandsche Jaerbocken*, 1751, pp. 1085, 1086.)

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Now, to anybody who reads with care (as few historians seem to have had the patience to do) these adroitly framed sentences, it is clear that we have here not a positive proof of the existence of the Essequibo colony prior to 1621, but a confession that no such proof can be found. And one needs to read but slightly between the lines to detect that the directors have lighted upon but two items of possible evidence—an uncertain allusion of the year 1639 to the existence of the Guiana colonies in general in 1613, and the mention in early records of the West India Company of a "Fort der Hooge" in connection with the Essequibo.

The alleged request of Jan de Moor in 1639 can not now be verified, for the minutes of the Nineteen for this year are lost; but there is no reason to doubt its existence or its verity. It is, however, clearly a mere reference to the Guiana colonies in general; explicit mention in it of the Essequibo there is confessedly none. It would even seem, from the cautious form of the statement, that its testimony to the Guiana colonies at all is rather inferential than direct.

What is urged as to a "Fort der Hooge" would be more serious were it borne out by the contemporary records on which it claims to be based. These very earliest records of the West India Company still remain to us, and in precisely the copies used by the Zeeland directors themselves.[1] True, the very first volume of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber itself is now lacking; but there is much reason to believe that it was lacking when this memorial was written, and, had it been in this that the phrase was found, the memorialists would undoubtedly have cited volume and date, as they have done wherever in their memorial these minutes are used. That there is here

[1] There are even preserved, among these volumes, in the Dutch *Rijksarchief*, some of the memoranda made for this very memorial.

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no citation whatever strongly suggests that what is stated is only an impression. Now, in the extant minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, running without a break from 1626 to 1644, and making frequent mention of the Essequibo colony, there is never any mention of a Fort der Hooge at all; nor have I been able to find it elsewhere in the records of the Company. Nor is this colony at first spoken of, as alleged, as a possession strengthened by a fort; for, as appears from an entry of August 23, 1627, it had as yet no fort at all, though the Company then promises to send soon some men to build one. The name of the fort, Kykoveral, which does not appear in the records before 1644, is thereafter constantly met; and had there been earlier a Fort der Hooge named after a director of the Company, the Zeeland directors would hardly have shown to an influential colleague the discourtesy of constantly ignoring its title. Joost van der Hooge is, indeed, named first, at the organization of the West India Company, among the stockholders and directors of the Zeeland Chamber, and this has seemed to some a reason for accepting the story; but they forget that this place belonged to him, *ex officio*, as burgomaster of Middelburg.[1] It is more probable that the place of his name suggested the tradition. There is nothing in the minutes of these bodies to connect him with Essequibo; and he was not one of those to whom matters relating to this colony were commonly referred. That the authors of the memorial were not writing with the documents before them may be guessed from the fact that, of the three others whom they mention with Van der Hooge as Guiana patroons who had earned a

[1] Of this Joost van der Hooge, General Netscher tells us, on the high authority of Mr. Van Visvliet, the learned archivist of Zeeland, that he was born in 1585 and after serving six times as Burgomaster of Middelburg between 1618 and 1630, became for the rest of his life (1631–1659) *rekenmeester ter Generaliteit.* (*Geschiedenis van de Kolonien*, p. 337.)

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seat in the Zeeland Chamber by the transfer of their colonies, not all were original members of that chamber.

There is, too, another claimant to the name of Fort der Hooge, or Ter Hooge.

When in 1657 the control of the Essequibo had passed into the hands of the three Walcheren cities (Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere), and they had planted in its region their new colony and had given it the new name of Nova Zeelandia, there stood on the bank of the Pomeroon, we are told, not only the fortress Nieuw Zeeland, and below it the village Nieuw Middelburg, but a little farther downstream the "*Huis ter Hooge*"—believed to have been a fortified lookout.[1] The Zeeland Estates, in their paper of 1750, fell into the error of supposing the colony of Essequibo to have borne from its outset the name of Nova Zeelandia.[2] This the Zeeland directors corrected; but is it not possible that they fell into the kindred error of forgetting the site and date of the Fort ter Hooge?

The other document which gives for the foundation of the colony of Essequibo an earlier date than 1621 lies in the library of the British Museum, where it bears the mark "Sloane MSS., 3662" It is a thin bound volume, lettered on its back, "Var. Tracts on the E. and W. Indies." The book is, however, all written by a single hand; and the author has made no effort to conceal his identity, for the volume begins with an

[1] The ultimate source for this statement and for the maps (e. g., Bouchenroeder's) which set down these places on the Pomeroon, I suspect to be the Middelburg geographer Arent Roggeveen, in his *Brandende Veen*, whose text was written while the colony was still in existence, and whose authority, as he expressly tells us, is that of Cornelis Goliat, who was the engineer of this colony. But Roggeveen spells this on his map "'*t Huys der Hooghte*," and in his text "'*t Huys der Hooght*"; i. e., probably, "the house of the height"—for a height well suited to fortification we know there was at or about this point. That Roggeveen, a Middelburger and a contemporary, could so have caricatured the familiar name of "Ter Hooge," had he found that in Goliat's chart, is inconceivable. As to Goliat and Roggeveen, see also pp. 214–217.

[2] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.

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elaborate preface, to which he has signed at the end his name in full—"John Scott." It is an autograph fragment, or rather a collection of sketches and materials, belonging to an unpublished and probably never finished work on the islands and coasts of America, from Newfoundland to the Amazon,[1] and

[1] In his preface Scott himself thus describes the scope and method of the projected work:

"In my youth I was a great lover of Geographie and History in Generall, but aboute the Eighteenth yeare of my age I tooke up a resolution to make America the scene of the greatest actions of my life, and there to sett myselfe a worke (if possible) to finde out the Latitudes, the Longitudes, and to know the oridginall discovery with the situations of all places both on the Continent and in the Islands; as also the uames of Persons and of what Natious they were who have possessed them, and what fortune each Nation hath had, and (as neare as I could) the fortune of the severall governors successively, and of the respective Collonies, the most remarkable distempers aud diseases, the Commodityes abounding and advantages of trade, what places were more or less Tenable of Nature, and what were made strong by fortifications, in w^t manner, and to what degree; Moreover how those Colonies have prospered or declined iu Trade, iucreased or decreased in number of Inhabitants from Europe, and the proper causes thereof; Together w^th the strenth [*sic*] of the severall Indian Nations, their customes Governments, and Commodities, and what advantages may be made of them in point of Warr or by Trade. I labour'd likewise to discover the Rocks, Sandes Shelves, and Souudings about every Island, and in the Entrance of all Ports, Havens, Rivers, and Creeks, as well on the Terra firma as the Islands, my scope at first being only for my owne particular sattisfaction, but now I am not out of hope these things may be both of some reputacion to myselfe, and a generall advantage to the English Nation, by which especially I shall have my end and reckon these eighteene yeares last past, by runuing through all manner of daugers (at seve'll times) to make Collections and Observations, have been spent to good purpose for my Country, and thereby put mee iu possession of the greatest fellicity that can befall a man in this life.

"I had once a purpose to have giveu you a large discription of all America, but then considering the Spanish Iudies had not onely beeu performed by other Authors but those Authors especially such as are Authentick have writ nothing for the last 60 yeares . . . besides I was loath to cloy the World with long Discourses about old Matters w^ch would not have an aspect on such affairs as are proper for our Consideration, but chose rather to give new accounts from observations of my owne (or such living Testimonies as I could credit) Touching those places w^ch have not been suffitiently sett forth by any man beforo me: Purposely omitting that part of the Spanish Indies that I have noe knowledge of . . I chose rather to content myselfe with w^t (in great part) I know, what my owne eyes have seen, and much of what my feet have trodden, and my sences brought under an exact inquiry, confineing my selfe with the River Amazon on the South . . . That River parts Brazile and Guiana,

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its author is that Major John Scott, once of Long Island, who after an all too prominent part in the politics of New England and New York had fled to Barbados, and who while there had been chosen to lead the expedition which in 1665–66 captured for England the Dutch colonies in Guiana.[1] Among the chapters here completed are those on Guiana and on the West Indian islands Barbados, Grenada, and Tobago. The first named of these chapters, with a long extract from the second, was a few years ago transcribed by a colonial scholar (though apparently without discovery of its authorship) and published

and its mouth is crossed by the Equinoctiall Line; from whence in my Mapps and History I pass Northward to Newfound Land.

"More than 1200 miles along the shore, surveying all the Islands worth nottice [*sic*] compreheuded within that vast part of the Atlantick Ocean one hundred and six of which Islands I have beeu Personally upon, have Travelled most parts of New England and Virginia, and a greate part of Guiana, and other places of the Maine between the Tropick of Cancer and the foremeutioned grand River, and wth Shipps and Barques have sayled iuto very many of the Rivers, Bayes Ports, and Creeks within the two boundaries of this discription. As for those places which have not come under my survey, and the Origiuall of many of the Colonies, whether English, Spanish, French, or Dutch whoes [*sic*] plantacions are settled beyond the Memory of any man that I could meet with, in such cases I took my measures from the best authors as Herera Ovida and Acosta among the Spaniards, Thunis a Grave Authour among the French, John Delaet among the Dutch and from many other Authours and sev'll curious mauuscripts that came to my hand besides the Carts [*sic*] of which I ever labour to gett the best extant and besides actually to coverce [*sic*] with good Artists that had been upon the place, and such persous I ever strove to oblidge aud draw to me of w^{t} Nation soever they were; I made it my business likewise to purchase or borrow all the historys aud Journalls that I could heare of whether Lattin Ittallian Spanish or Portugais French Dutch or in our Language, wherein I may say I have by reason of a generall generous conversation had luck extraordinary, and herein w^{t} paines I have taken what cost I have been att is so Notorious, that over and above the kuowledge of a great number of Gentlemen which I have been oblidged too [*sic*] for a Communication of printed books, Mannuscripts Pattents Commissions, aud papers relating to those parts, the many bookesellers of England and Holland will doe me Right to testifie my continuall inquisition."

[1] For the passages in which Scott himself tells the story of this capture and describes the Guiana of his time, see Extracts, pp. 133–137. His part in this expedition is else kuowu, and Professor Jameson, who knew of the manuscript through Broukhurst's extracts, had already (p. 64, above), from this internal evidence, established the identity of its author.

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in a Guiana newspaper.[1] Thence it was copied into the book of a missionary, Bronkhurst,[2] and so reached the world of scholars. Its reception by historians has not been flattering, and the name of its author will hardly add greatly to its weight, for Scott's reputation for accuracy of statement is not unimpeached.[3] His facilities for information were, however, remarkable, and especially so for Guiana.[4] For his statement as to the founding of the colony of Essequibo in 1616 by one Captain Gromwegle,[5] and for the reasons why it must be doubted, I may refer to the report of Professor Jameson.

I have only to add that my own examination of the manuscript records, while vindicating Scott in assigning to 1664 the death of Groenewegel, and while carrying back to 1645 that governor's advent in the colony, brings to light no earlier mention of him in the books of the West India Company, and convinces me that he could not earlier have been commandeur on the Essequibo. That in 1616 he or any other built there a fort seems unlikely from the fact that a fort needed to be built there in 1627.[6] That he may in that year have come to some other Guiana colony is not impossible, though the records of the Zeeland admiralty for this and the adjacent years fail to show the name of such a captain.[7] In view of the fact that

[1] *The Royal Gazette*, Georgetown, July 24, 1879.

[2] *The Colony of British Guyana and its Labouring Population*, London, 1883.

[3] See the citations of Professor Jameson, p. 64, above. Lord Willoughby, there quoted, knew him well and was by no means an unfriendly witness.

[4] See (in addition to note, p. 174) Extracts, pp. 134, 135, and p. 135, note.

[5] So, and not Gromweagle, as Bronkhurst prints it, it is always spelt in the manuscript—of course, for the Dutch *Groenewegel*.

[6] See p. 180, below. Had it been merely the repair of an old fort that was needed, or even its replacement by a new one, this would almost certainly have been shown by the wording of the record. True, between 1616 and 1627 a fort might have been destroyed and abandoned; but such an event was likely to leave trace in record or tradition.

[7] These records are for this period complete at the Hague; and between 1613 and 1621, at least, no such name can be found in them.

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Scott credits to Groenewegel's "ingenious observations" only a part of the particulars of this story, and in view of his demonstrable inaccuracy as to dates and names in what else he tells us of the beginnings of colonization in Guiana, I think it must be felt that, though there are doubtless elements of truth in his story, his authority is much too slight for a statement else so unsupported, and so inconsistent with facts better known.[1] Is it not more probable that Scott has confused with the original establishment of the Dutch in the Essequibo the founding of the first colony of planters there—the *Nova Zeelandia* of the Walcheren cities—in 1658? Of the latter

[1] Among these better known facts (in addition to the evidence, negative and positive, derived from Dutch records) are the following: Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1617, on that second voyage to Guiana which resulted in the sack of Santo Thomé, the Spanish settlement in the Orinoco, thus writes, in his journal, under date of December 10, of his instructions to the party sent up that river: "I also gave them order to send into Dessekebe for I assured them that they could not want Pilotts ther for Orenoke, being the next great river adjoyning unto it, and to which the Spaniards of Orenoke had dayly recourse." Now, Sir Walter Raleigh, despite his long imprisonment, was perhaps the best posted European of his time as to the affairs of Guiana. Moreover, he had brought with him and had just put ashore at Cayenne for trade with the Indians two Dutchmen, and had hobnobbed in that port with the captain of a Dutch trading-ship, "one Janson of Flushing, who had traded that place about a dussen yeares." It is scarcely conceivable that, had there been then a Dutch colony in the Essequibo, Raleigh could have failed to learn it. Even Sir Robert Schomburgk infers from this that the Dutch were not then in Essequibo, and in his footnote on the passage, reconciles it with his theory of an earlier Dutch occupation of that river by stating that, though "the Dutch were here established as early as 1580–90," "they were, however, driven from their settlements by the Spaniards, assisted by the Indians"—he is clearly thinking of the alleged expulsion of Dutchmen from the Moruca in 1596. That both these latter assumptions are errors is of no consequence to the question now in hand. (See Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, pp. 198–203.) In the second place, Fray Pedro Simon, the contemporary Spanish historian, writing at Bogotá within the same decade, narrates in much detail the chastisement by the Spaniards, in 1619, of the hostile Arawaks in the Pomeroon, the Essequibo, and the Berbice. What is more, he states that these Indians have, up to their corruption at this time by the English (he means Raleigh's party), been always the friends of the Spaniards. He clearly knows nothing of any presence of the Dutch in these rivers. (See his *Noticias*, pp. 664–666, and Professor Jameson's report, p. 51, above.)

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Groenewegel was, as we shall presently see, indeed the first Commander, and so in a sense the founder.

In June, 1621, the truce with Spain having now expired, there came at last into existence the long-projected Dutch West India Company. Its charter granted it monopoly of trade over all the coasts of America, both Atlantic and Pacific, not to mention West Africa, the islands, and the Antarctic continent, and this without a suggestion of frontier within these bounds. All existing Dutch colonies on these coasts passed, therefore, into its hands. The only claim for reimbursement which finds mention in the official records is one made by the Zeelanders for their "tobacco-plantation on the Amazon".[1] Of other establishments on the South American coast nothing is heard.

Even after the grant of the charter, however, the Company was long in organizing. The stock had first to be taken up. The Zeeland shareholders did not meet till May 26, 1623,[2] to choose the directors of the Zeeland Chamber; and the supreme board of the Nineteen, made up of deputies from this and the other chambers, first came together on August 3, 1623.[3] Among the items of business prescribed for this opening session one finds mention of the coast of Brazil, at the one side of Guiana, and of Punta de Araya, the salt depot, at the other, but no word of the Wild Coast itself.[4] We learn,

[1] As to this foundation on the Amazon, see p. 148, above, note.

[2] This I learn from the minutes of the shareholders themselves (Hague, Rijksarchief, West India papers, vol. 470).

[3] So testify the Nineteen's own minutes (West India papers, vol. 51). Cf. Extracts pp. 38, 39, note.

[4] Yet, in the English document quoted above (p. 162) from the British colonial papers, a document conjecturally calendared under January, 1623 (at which date no session of the Dutch West India Company had yet been held), one reads: "The West Indian Companie in Holland do now send two or three shipps full of men unto the Amazones intendinge speedilie to supplie them wth manie more for Plantation." It would be of value to know the grounds for the ascription of the document to so

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however, that already a "goodly number of colonists" are presenting themselves. But it is not until the session of September 10, 1624, that one reads among the topics for consideration:

> The deputies of Zeeland will please bring with them the instructions given to the ships bound for the Amazons, and further information as to the condition of things in that quarter; and the deputies of all the chambers shall come instructed, so as to devise means for the securing of that region, whether by the planting of suitable colonies or otherwise.[1]

At the session, however, after hearing the memorial of the Zeeland deputies, nothing was done save to furnish a copy to each of the chambers for consideration and report.

Unluckily, the loss of the later minutes of the Nineteen[2] leaves us in the dark as to the immediate sequel; but from a passage in the Zeeland memorial of 1751, possibly based on these records, we learn that in 1627 articles were adopted "for the establishment of a colony on the Wild Coast,"[3] and that on March 4, 1628, the Nineteen asked from the Zeeland Chamber a written report on the "colonies of the Amazons." A bright light is also thrown on the Company's plans by their still extant form of "Commission for Captains," drawn up in 1626:[4] "Since we have undertaken," declare the directors, "in virtue of the charter granted by the States-General of the United Netherlands to this Company, to send certain ships to

early a date. Nothing in its conteuts demands it; and a time subsequent to the rupture of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, iu 1624, would seem more congenial to the presentation of such a memorial. The copy in question of the document is endorsed "For the Prince, his Highnes."

[1] For the Dutch, see Extracts, pp. 38, 39.

[2] This first volume, alone preserved, covers the period from August 3, 1623, to December 24, 1624.

[3] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, pp. 1088, 1089. The articles are probably those of which only a part is to be found in the colony-book of the Zeeland Chamber. See Extracts, p. 53.

[4] For the document in full, see Extracts, pp. 40, 41.

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the West Indies, there to further the peopling of uninhabited places, and among other things to build a fortress, in order to be secure against the raids and invasions of the Spaniards and other nations our foes, and since to accomplish this with the greater sureness, we have need of a capable, true, and experienced person to have command thereover as captain," therefore they do appoint the candidate in question.

But meanwhile there comes to our aid a body of records which from now on will give far more definite information as to these Guiana colonies. The minutes of the Zeeland Chamber itself, whose first volume (1623–1626) has, alas, long been lost, are from May 4, 1626, onward for twenty years (to May 31, 1646) preserved to us intact. We find, indeed, in these precious volumes, for some time after their abrupt beginning, no explicit mention of any colony. But already on May 21, 1626, it was "resolved to look about for a capable person for director of the business in the Amazons; and if a capable one can be found to send him thither by the first ship."[1] Of ships to the Amazons one hears abundantly.[2] On October 8, 1626, the Burgomaster Jan de Moor and Confraters Godin and Ten Haeff were made a committee "to report in writing what new trading places within the limits of the charter might be found where it would be advisable for the Company to carry on business, in order that, on their report, action may be taken by the Nineteen."

And at last, on November 26, 1626, we find what I believe the earliest mention in extant records of any Dutch establishment on the Essequibo:

> The committee on wares is authorized to make up a suitable cargo to the Amazons for the yacht *Arnemuyden.*
>
> *Resolved,* To send with the aforesaid yacht *Arnemuyden* 20 ripening

[1] See Extracts, p. 41. [2] See Extracts, pp. 42–45, for examples.

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youths, in order to land them in the Amazon, the Wiapoco, or the Essequibo—wherever the folk of our Chamber may be found—for the purpose of being employed there. And each of them shall be granted 2, 3, or 4 guilders a month, according to their capacities.[1]

Again, under December 10, 1626, we read:

Resolved, To let Jacob Canyn come home from Essequibo, as he asks to do, and to fill his place with another.[2]

And only two days later, December 12:

Johannes Beverlander is taken into the service of the Company for three years, to lie in the river of Essequibo along with Jan van der Goes; and that for twenty-one guilders a month.[3]

It is more than six months before there is again in these minutes any mention of the Essequibo. Then, on August 23, 1627,[4] it was, on report of a committee—

Resolved, To raise the wages of Jan van der Goes in Essequibo, after his first three years (for which he is bound to the Company), to five pounds Flemish a month, and to send the supplies asked by him, as is set down in the request, together with other necessaries, and to authorize him to retain five or six men out of the ship *Arent*, and that by next [ship] we shall send him 30 men and cause a fort to be made.[5]

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[1] For the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 42.

[2] Extracts, p. 43. It has been inferred from this passage that Canyn was Commander of the Dutch establishment on the Essequibo; and in support of this has been quoted the passage of the Zeeland Chamber's memorial of 1751, which speaks of "an account-book of 1627, in continuation of that of Conyn, kept in Essequibo, giving a report of its administration to the superiors of the Wild Coast in Zeeland." (For the Dutch of the entire passage, see note, p. 166, above.) This account-book (*Journael-Boek*) can no longer be found. It seems more plausible to infer from the two passages that Canyn, or Conyn, was only clerk of the Essequibo post; and the entry of December 12, by which Beverlander seems sent to take his place, while Jan van der Goes is named as in command, without any preceding or following resolution for his promotion, seems to me convincing.

[3] Extracts, p. 44.

[4] The date 1626, given by Netscher for this entry, and from him borrowed by others, is only a printer's error.

[5] Extracts, p. 45.

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Thereafter nothing more in 1627. But from these brief items out of the first year of its known existence I think it possible, if due weight be given to what is omitted as well as to what is said, to draw with safety two or three important inferences. First, that the establishment in the Essequibo antedates May, 1626. Second, that so late as 1627 it was still a trading post rather than a settlement, with not so much as a fort yet erected. Third, that its commander, as yet a mere agent without a title, had in August, 1627, not yet completed the third year of his service. It is of course possible to reconcile all these with a longer Dutch occupation; but, when taken in connection with the absence of all authentic evidence for their earlier presence in that river and with the purpose of the West India Company, so clearly implied in September, 1624, to plant new establishments on this coast, I think it not rash to conjecture that Jan van der Goes was at the head of the first Dutch occupation of the Essequibo, and that the beginning of that occupation was in or about the year 1625.

And I am able to add a bit of evidence which seems to me to raise that conjecture to a practical certainty. In the year 1625 the Dutch merchant and geographer Jan de Laet gave to the world the first edition of his *New World; or, Description of the West Indies.* His preface, written after the work was completed, is dated November 15, 1624. His book is one of great zeal and industry, and of exceptional conscientiousness. Moreover, Jan de Laet was from the outset a director of the West India Company, and alive both to its interests and to its new sources of information. Yet in this edition of 1625 his description of the Essequibo is drawn mainly from English sources. He quotes, however, in support of his statements as to its navigation and products, "our people who some

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years ago visited this river." Of the Spaniards he says that, according to the account of the Englishman Masham, they had some people here in 1591 [1597], but "seem to have come to naught again." And a little further on, in his description of the Orinoco, he tells us, following Raleigh, that "among other traffics which the Spaniards there carry on, one is to go with canoes to the rivers of Barima, Pomeroon, and Essequibo, and there to buy women and children from the Caribs, and with great profit to sell them again in Margarita."[1]

The book of De Laet met with great success. It became evident that a new edition would be demanded. But before this appeared, in 1630, there were some things which needed to be changed. On January 28, 1627, one reads in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber (De Laet was a member of that of Amsterdam) this entry:

> In reply to the letter of Confrater Jan de Laet asking of the Chamber of Zeeland that it will please send him certain copies of log books of [voyages to] the Amazons and elsewhere, consent is given, on condition that he be instructed to send them back within a month or six weeks.[2]

It is significant that just these journals should have been asked. More significant is the change, in the new edition, of the description of the Essequibo. There is no mention, indeed, of Dutch settlement. On the contrary, the allusion to an earlier Dutch visit to the Essequibo is stricken out. But the account itself has grown fuller and more definite. The English writers fall into the background. There is knowledge of the Essequibo's division above into three arms, and that good land lies on all three. And the Spaniards no longer "seem to have come to naught," but "have come to naught." The passage

[1] *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1625, pp. 474, 475, 480.

[2] For the Dutch, see Extracts, p. 44.

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in the chapter on the Orinoco is, however, retained—perhaps by oversight.[1]

Now, it is quite possible that, had there been in 1630 no Dutch colony on the Essequibo, Jan de Laet might still have written his text of 1630; but it is quite impossible that, had he known a Dutch colony there in 1624, he could have written his text of 1625.[2]

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[1] *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1630, pp. 577, 583.

[2] To be compared with these passages is also that description of Guiana, published by Jan de Laet in another work in 1628, which is printed in full at p. 355, below.

Interesting, too, in this connection is a bit of English evidence. In February, 1627, Capt. Henry Powell landed on the island of Barbados, then wholly uninhabited, 40 or 50 English settlers. He then set out for the neighboring mainland of Guiana to buy from the Indians materials for the plantation. Twenty years later Powell himself (in a petition for the return of the Indians he had then carried off from the main—the document is in the Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson MSS., C. 94*, and was printed by Mr. N. Darnell Davis in *Timehri* for June, 1891) thus told the story of the expedition:

"Having left the aforesaid servants upon this Island, I proceeded in my voyage to the Mayne, to the river of Disacaha [Essequibo], and there I left 8 men, and left them a cargezon of trade for that place. And I traded with the Indians of the aforesaid Mayne for all things that was to be gotten for the planting of this Island of the Barbadoes. And coming down the river of Disacaha, there was three cannoes with Indians of the people that I had trade with, followed me to the river's mouth and upon a small Island at the river's mouth went ashore, a little before night, faire by the shippe, and had a desire to speake with me. I went ashore to them, and lay that night upon the Island to know their intent to follow me so farre. Their answer was that they did perceive by ye things that I had bought of them that I was bound to plante an Island that lay to the Northward of them and that they had relation from their forefathers that had beeu upon an Island that way that was not inhabited, and they described the name of the Island to me, and that they had a desire to goe with me as free people to manure those fruits, and that I should allow them a piece of land, the which I did, and they would manure those fruits, and bring up their children to Christiantie, and that we might drive a constant trade between the Island and the Mayne, for there was manie more of the Indians of that place, that had a desire for to come for that Island, the next yeare, if I would come there againe."

It will be noticed that the Englishmen had apparently no knowledge that there were theu Dutchmen in the Essequibo. And this seems also clear from another document of Captain Powell's, a sworn statement made by him in 1656; and also from the affidavit, in 1660, of a John Powell (probably his nephew), who was with him in this expedition. These two (from the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and from the Bodleian, respectively) are likewise printed in *Timehri* for June, 1891.

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I have dwelt on the beginning of the Dutch establishment in the Essequibo, that I might, if possible, fix its date with certainty. What needs to be told of its growth may be told more briefly. In 1627 it seems still but a trading post. But meanwhile other Guiana posts were becoming colonies. Before the end of 1626 two bodies of settlers had been gathered, and early in 1627 were sent out, the one to the Wiapoco, the other to the Cayenne.[1] In June of 1627 the Nineteen enacted a scheme of common government for the Guiana colonies, present and to come, Cayenne to be its seat and each of the others to send thither deputies;[2] and tempting privileges were insured to private founders of colonies. In the same month they empowered Jan de Moor to send a fresh colony to Tobago.[3] In July were sent out the settlers for the new colony of Abraham van Pere, on the river Berbice. A fort was to be built for them, and equipped with guns at the cost of the Company.[4] But no colonists for the Essequibo.[5] That the Company reserved for itself, and had no mind to intrust to patroons; but it neglected to colonize it for itself. It was this, I suspect, and especially what was being done for the neighboring river, which called forth from Jan van der Goes the complaint, perhaps the threat, which one can divine behind the generous action of the Zeeland Chamber on August 23, 1627. The Essequibo, too, they conceded, should have its colonists and its fort; Jan van der Goes should receive his supplies at once, and, if he would but be patient, in time a larger salary.

[1] See Extracts, p. 43; and, for further details, De Laet, *Historie . . . van de . . . West-Indische Compagnie* (1644), ff. 111, 112, and Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 53–57.

[2] See Extracts, pp. 47–53.

[3] See Extracts, pp. 54, 55.

[4] See Extracts, p. 45.

[5] What is said by General Netscher (p. 54) of the alternative destination of certain colonists in November, 1626, is an error. The passage about "Amazon, Wiapoco, or Essequibo" belongs only to the "20 ripening youths," who were, of course, to be employés at the trading posts.

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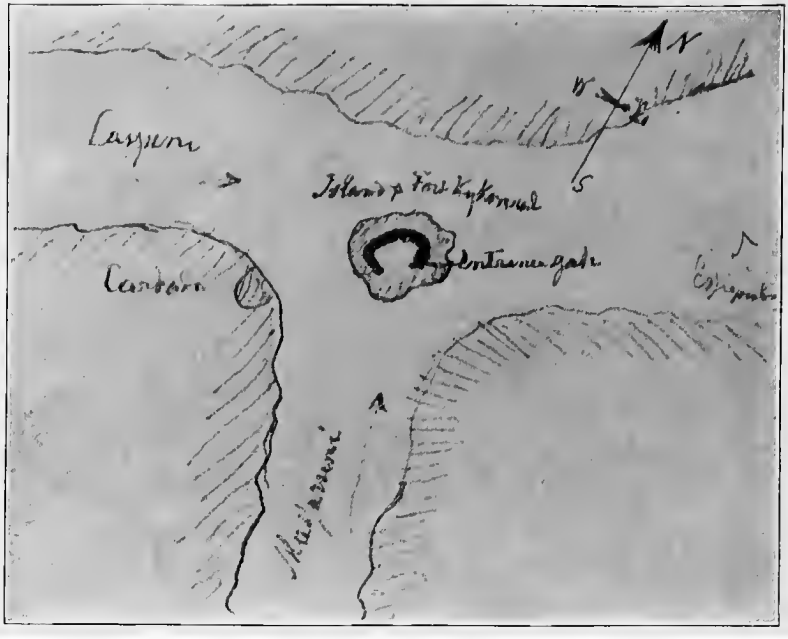
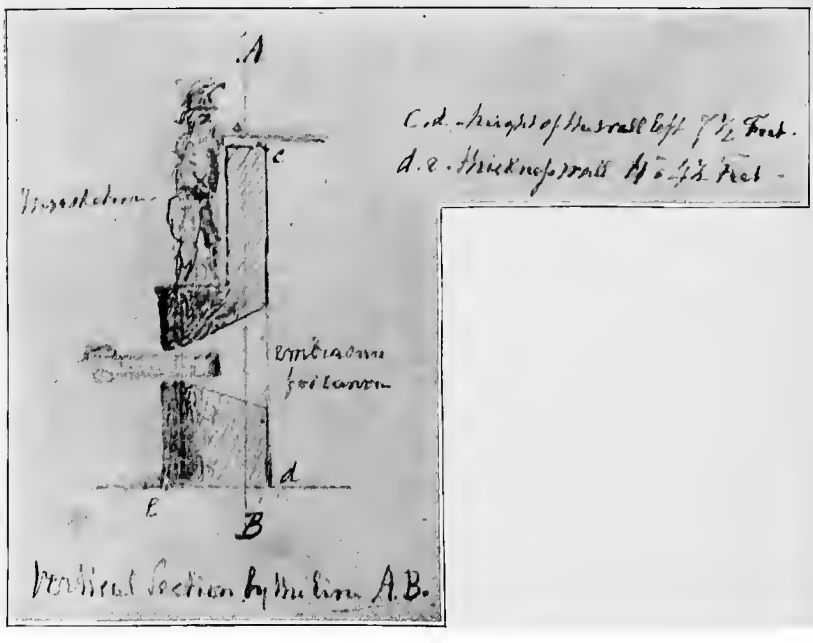


SITE OF FORT KYKOVERAL

AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1845

(See note, pp. 185–187)



SECTION OF WALL OF FORT KYKOVERAL

AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1845

(See note, pp. 185–187)

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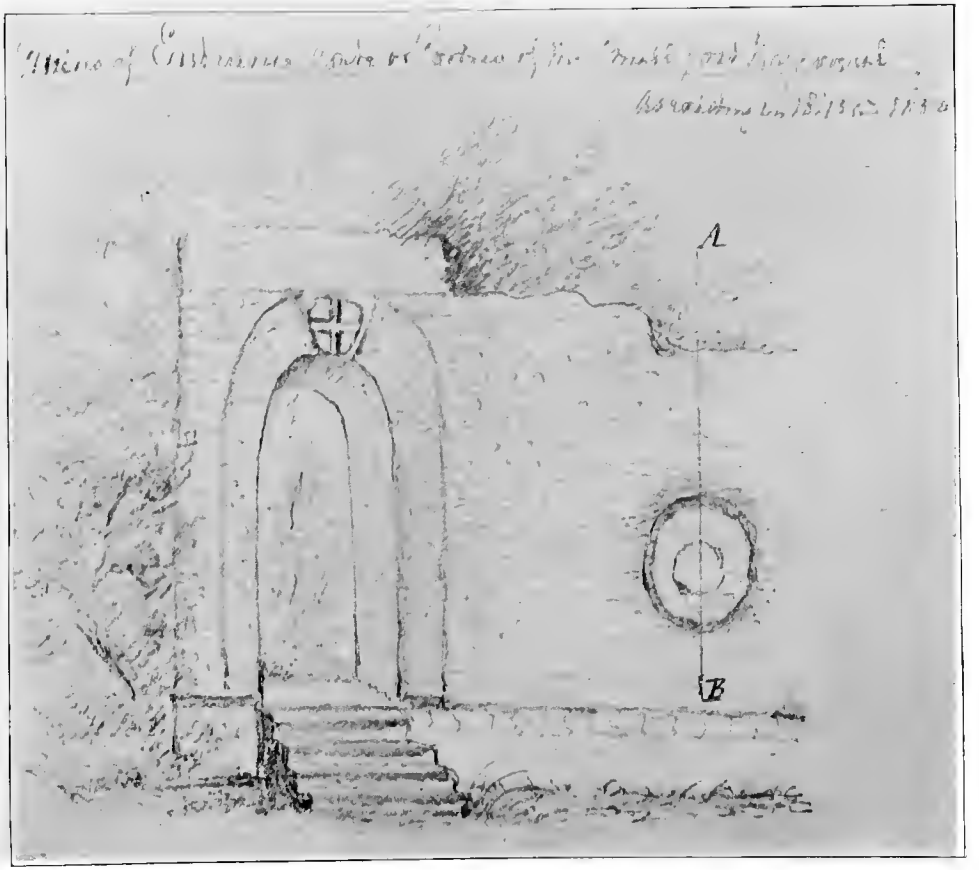

RUINED ENTRANCE AND WALL OF FORT KYKOVERAL

AS SKETCHED BY GENERAL NETSCHER IN 1845

(See note, pp. 185–187)

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The five or six men to be retained from the *Arent* and the thirty who were promised were very probably the desired colonists for the Essequibo.[1] That the thirty were sent, there is little reason to doubt; for, on April 10, 1628, it was voted "to provision the yacht *Armuyden* for ten months, and also for three months for as many colonists as are to go along. The said ship shall go to the Amazon, the Wiapoco, the Cayenne, and so on to the Essequibo, manned with 35 men. The same ship shall carry over all the necessaries for the colonists."[2]

That the promised fort was built is not so certain. Nor have we anywhere in these early years, except perhaps from the sentence of Jan de Laet as to the whereabouts of the good land, a hint as to where in the river the colony was planted. That its center, if not its sole seat, was the island at the junction of Mazaruni and Cuyuni is, however, made nearly certain by several considerations. In the first place, there is found nowhere in later records any tradition of another site or of a removal. In 1764 the Zeeland Chamber declared to the States-General that "from all old time" the fort had been at this place. Again, the island was the only natural stronghold of its sort. It was, moreover, probably suggested by a prior occupation—an occupation leaving a tangible inheritance in solid stone walls which to the end were utilized in the Dutch constructions here, and which in part remain to this day.[3]

[1] By "colonists," however, must not be understood tillers of the soil, much less free planters. "The colony of Essequibo," said the Zeeland Chamber itself in 1751, in the memorial resulting from its search through its own records, "from the beginning on, down to the year 1656 was inhabited only by such persons as were employés of the Zeeland Chamber, and who . . . at that time were called 'colonists' and were kept there for the carrying on of trade, which soon grew to such proportions that in some years a hundred barrels or more of annatto dye came over at once."—(*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1097.)

[2] Extracts, p. 55; also p. 53 and note.

[3] As to the origin of these old walls of Fort Kykoveral there are three distinct theories. (1) That they are Spanish. The evidence as to a Spanish occupation of the Essequibo has been discussed by Professor Jameson (pp. 45–52, above) and in my

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The colony was for long not a commercial success. In 1632 the Nineteen decided to abandon it,[1] as they had already abandoned, in 1631, that on the Cayenne.[2] The colonists, indeed, seem to have come home in a body, Jan van der Goes at their head. But after conference with him, the Zeeland Chamber (April 8, 1632)[3] voted not to give it up. Abraham van Pere had offered to carry on the trade to Essequibo in connection with that to his colony of Berbice.[4] The contract was

own paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol. iii, pp. 188–191). (2) That they are Portuguese. This belief first appears at the time of its dismantling, in 1764, when the Essequibo governor described it as "an old Portuguese work, built extraordinarily tight and strong." Half a dozen years later, in 1770, Hartsinck, in his *Description of Guiana*, declared that "this fort was, by the Portuguese, built of quarried stone on a small island lying in the mouths of the rivers Cuyuni and Mazaruni (but was in 1764 broken up, after which there was built with the stone a sugar-windmill on the Company's plantation Duinenburg, and later, in the year 1768, with the remaining stone a similar mill on the Company's plantation Luixbergen)," and again that "Fort Kykoveral was built of hewn stone (surely by the Portuguese, since the arms of that realm are cut in stone above the doorway)"—"*zekerlyk door de Portugeezen: dewyl het Wapen van dat Ryk boven de Poort is uitgehouwen.*" (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, pp. 207, 208, 262). (3) That they are Dutch. This has found support in the statement of Major John Scott (given in full by Professor Jameson on p. 63, above) that in 1616 a fort was built here by the Dutch captain "Gromwegle." The worth of this evidence has been discussed both by Professor Jameson (pp. 64, 65) and by myself (pp. 172–177). The Rt. Rev. William Hart Coleridge (Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Isles, 1824–1841), who once visited this remote portion of his diocese, has left a description of the ruins which strangely mingles Portuguese founders with the date assigned by Scott to the Dutch. Mentioning "the old fort Kykoveral," he remarks that it was "built in 1616," and that there remains of it a postern in brick, on the side remote from Cartabo. On the key of the arch of this postern, he says, one can make out, though half effaced, the Portuguese arms. The wooden pillars which once sustained the "stellings" are, he adds, still visible. (This passage which occurs in a note to a pastoral charge delivered at Georgetown, Demerara, July 18, 1839, is accessible to me only in French translation—the charge being reprinted at pp. 1157–1162 of vol. ii of the great *Rapport sur les questions coloniales* by Lechevalier, 1843, 1844: it fell into my hands too late for a successful search for its English original.) On the other hand, General Netscher, the careful modern Dutch historian of the colonies which now form British Guiana, who in 1845 and again in 1850 closely

[1] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1494.

[2] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1090.

[3] Extracts, p. 65; cf. *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, as above.

[4] Extracts, p. 67.

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closed with him on July 16,[1] and in August Jan van der Goes was reengaged, with two assistants, to take charge of affairs there.[2]

Thus the Essequibo establishment, even if it had been aught else, now fell back into a mere trading post. It is clear from the contract with Van Pere that no products are expected from that colony except the dyes supplied by the Indians. Rates are, indeed, stipulated at which "in case the Company

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examined these ruins with intent to verify Hartsinck's statement as to the Portuguese arms, found over the doorway nothing but a simple cross. The sketches of the place then made on the spot by him in his journal I have, through the kindness of that generous scholar, been permitted to examine; and, in response to my request to be allowed to reproduce them, he has with his own hand made a copy of them, which I have the honor to submit herewith. In further explanation of the sketches he has had the kindness to add the following note:

"Remains or ruins of a very small ancient Spanish fort, for nearly a century the residence of the Commandeurs of the colony Essequebo, called by the Dutch *Kykoveral* on account of its domineering situation at the confluence of the Massaruni, Cayuni, and Essequeho—as seen and superficially sketched by me in 1845, and seen again in 1850. Only two-thirds of the stone walls of the fort were then and are probably still existing; the part on the Cartabo side is built of granite or quartz; the northeastern side of the wall is brickwork of ± 4 feet at the bottom, with a gate or portico of 8 feet by 4 feet (inside), and 2 embrasures for artillery. The rest was all in ruins and nothing was left of the building or harrack.

"Gen[l] P. M. NETSCHER.

"THE HAGUE, *October 19th, 1896.*"

General Netscher has himself, in his *Geschiedenis van de Kolonien* (pp. 338, 339), discussed the origin of the fort, pointing out that the presence of the Portuguese in the Essequibo prior to the Dutch occupation is a thing wholly foreign both to Dutch and to Portuguese tradition and inconsistent with all we know of the circumstances. He tells me, too, that the Spanish and Portuguese scholars and diplomats before whom, at every opportunity, he has brought the question, agree that the cross was an emblem much more likely to be thus used by the Spaniards than by the Portuguese.

[1] Extracts, pp. 67, 68.

[2] Extracts, pp. 66, 67. There he was at the visit to Guiana, in 1634, of the North Holland merchant, De Vries, who came seeking a site for a colony of his own. De Vries coasted no farther west than the mouth of Demerara. There Jan van der Goes came in a canoe to meet him, and is called by him "head man in Essequibo on behalf of the West India Company" ("*Jan van der Goes . . . van de Rivier van Isekebie, die daer Opperhooft was van wegen de West-Indische Companie*"), a title which suggests the head of a commercial establishment rather than the governor of a colony. (De Vries, *Korte Historiael*, p. 135.)

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shall please to send any person to Essequibo with the aforesaid ships" of Van Pere they may do so; but this seems to be meant only for the *personnel* of the post, for one hears in the minutes of no others. Still the Essequibo did not pay. On April 16, 1637, there was again discussion in the Zeeland Chamber as to its profitableness, and the matter was referred to the committee on commerce.[1] But while this was pending there came an interesting consignment from the colony. On May 14, 1637, "Confrater van Pere was authorized to turn over two kegs of syrup, or sap of sugar-cane, arrived from Essequibo from Jan van der Goes, to Sr. Segers, in order that he may try to reduce it to sugar."[2] It is the first mention of agriculture in the colony, and a suggestion of that industry which was later to be its greatest source of revenue.[3] But not yet: Jan van der Goes, it appears, was dissatisfied, and the Company was as clearly dissatisfied with him. On August 17, 1637, we read that "inasmuch as Jan van der Goes had written from Essequibo that he, with all the folk who were there with him, was minded to come home by the first ship, it was some time ago resolved for the present to send thither in the place of the said Van der Goes, by the ship *De Jager*, Cornelis Pieters Hose; and on account of the great demoralization of the folk and their wish to come home,

[1] Extracts, p. 71.

[2] Extracts, p. 72.

[3] Under date of April 2, 1635, there is, in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber, an entry which, at first blush, might suggest that tobacco, too, was raised in Essequibo. In the chest of a skipper arrived from the Guiana coast there was found, along with a letter of Jan van der Goes and a bag of money, eighty-three rolls of tobacco. But the fact that this was a puzzle to the Chamber itself, and that nothing more is heard of the matter, makes it more probable that the tobacco, if it came from Jan van der Goes at all, had been smuggled in from the Orinoco, the usual source of tobacco for Essequibo in later years. The best reason for believing that it may have been grown in the colony is that it was pronounced "very poor." In any case, we hear nothing further of tobacco. (See Extracts, p. 69.)

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it is resolved that they shall be allowed to come home and the colony provided anew with five-and-twenty other respectable persons, from whom the Company may receive more service, and more edifyingly withal." And Confraters Lonissen and Van Pere were made a committee to pick up these new servants, with instructions "to look for the discreetest persons so far as shall be possible."[1]

This resolution perhaps mainly aimed at a salutary effect on the deserting colonists, who must, it seems, already have arrived; for just three days later (August 20, 1637) we read that "the persons who have been enlisted for Essequibo, being mostly from the people who came with Van der Goes and have not much to live on, shall for this once, and without its being a precedent, receive a shilling a day for costs."[2]

Jan van der Goes, however, remained for the present in Holland, and in the minutes of 1639 and 1640 we hear much of a certain expedition led by him to the Orinoco in search of a silver mine; but as the enterprise was confessedly into hostile territory in time of war, and as it came to naught, it has no interest here.[3]

Meanwhile the establishment on the Essequibo went on as before. In 1640 (August 6) we read that "the Committee on the Business of Essequibo having reported as to the folk and the cargo which they had deemed advisable to send thither, their report was adopted, and the committee was authorized to arrange with Van Pere and Van Rhee [the patroons of Berbice], inasmuch as they are sending a ship thither, regarding the transportation thither of our folk and

[1] Extracts, p. 72. It is not impossible that this exodus of the colonists may have had to do with a projected attack upon Essequibo by the Spaniards of the Orinoco. (See Extracts, p. 76.)

[2] Extracts, p. 72.

[3] For all the passages relating to it see Extracts, pp. 96–100.

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goods, as well as the charges for bringing from there the cargo of dye." Yet it is unlikely that the "folk" here mentioned were colonists proper (i. e., settlers); for "folk" is in these records regularly used for any group of the Company's own servants, while for settlers that word is rarely employed.

In 1642 (June 30) there was drawn up by the Zeeland Chamber and inserted in its minutes, a standard list of the supplies to be shipped to the Essequibo at each of the infrequent consignments to that colony. This list[1] throws much light on the size and aims of the post. It would seem safe to infer from it that there were then employed on the Essequibo not more than thirty men, and that their business was wholly the gathering of dyes; for the articles are such as would be bartered to the Indians or used in the gathering of these products and of the food supply of the colonists. On delivering these supplies, the ship was to "take in such dye and letter-wood as at the time shall be ready" and return directly home.

In 1644 one finds in the quoted address of a letter to "Adriaen Jansz., Commandeur, and Adriaen van d. Woestyne, Clerk, at Fort Kykoveral in Essequibo," for the first time such titles for its officials and a name for its fort.[2] They suggest a new departure; but there is nothing else in the minutes to imply it. By March 9, 1645, Adriaen Jansz. has given place as Commandeur to Aert Adriaensz. van Scherpenisse.[3]

The Essequibo establishment was still not a success. The charter of the Dutch West India Company seemed about to expire, and it was time its affairs were set in order. On May 29, 1645, a committee of the Zeeland Chamber, submitting suggestions to this end, reported that, "as concerns the river

[1] Extracts, pp. 100–102.

[2] Extracts, p. 102. "Adriaen Jansz." may possibly be but a distortion of the name of Jan Adriaensz. van der Goes.

[3] Extracts, p. 103.

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of Essequibo, the committee's opinion is that now for some time it has been traded to with small profit to the Company, and for the reason that individual colonists[1] are permitted to trade there as well as the Company, so that the goods coming from there can not fetch their proper price. On this point they are of advice that, at the expiration of the charter, either the trade there ought to be held exclusively for the Company or it were better that the aforesaid place should, subject to the proper fees, be thrown open to free trade."[2]

On January 18, 1646, there was drawn a contract with Abraham van Pere for a special voyage to Essequibo after the annatto dye; and now there is inserted a clause binding him to bring also any other merchandise he may find there.[3] On May 23, 1647, there is a similar special contract of the Company with a ship belonging to an outside party: going out with goods for Brazil and supplies for Essequibo, it shall bring back from Essequibo "the dye and other goods which the Company may have there, and from the Caribbean Islands, if it choose, a cargo of tobacco, cotton, or other products of the soil."[4] Similar contracts were made on November 19, 1648, and on January 14, 1649. Annatto dye is the only product of Essequibo named.[5]

Such are our scanty materials for a notion of the character and limits of the Dutch colony on the Essequibo at the close of the long war with Spain. So far as they enable us to infer, it was a body of two or three dozen unmarried

[1] Under the privileges granted to colonists by the Company in 1627 and 1628, the members of any West Indian colony were at liberty to trade freely on the unsettled coasts. Against this encroachment on their monopoly in Guiana the Zeeland Chamber had now for many years protested in vain. (See Extracts, pp. 69, 70.)

[2] Extracts, p. 104.

[3] Extracts, pp. 104, 105.

[4] Extracts, pp. 106–108.

[5] Extracts, pp. 110–112.

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employés of the West India Company, housed in a fort at the confluence of the Cuyuni and Mazaruni with the Essequibo, and engaged in traffic with the Indians for the dyes of the forest.[1] Agriculture, save for the food supply of this garrison, there is little reason for supposing. Of tobacco or of sugar one hears nothing after the mention of the specimens received in the time of Jan van der Goes. The first sugar mill on the river seems to have been established in 1664; and at that date there was as yet no provision for the registry of lands in Essequibo.[2] This purely commercial character of

[1] The only other avocation mentioned is that of fishing: one Jan van Opstall, an employé of the Company in Essequibo, in 1644, complained of the loss of a finger while fishiug for the Company, and asked compensation, hut the Company could not find this in the contraet. The fishing was probably for the food supply of the post—as often later.

[2] Both these facts appear from the petition of Jan Doensen, July 3, 1664, who was establishing a sugar mill at Brouwershoek, opposite Fort Kykoveral, on the north bank of the mingled Cuyuni and Mazarnni, near their jnnction with the Essequibo. For lack of a colonial registration he begged the Company to register it in Holland; and the Zeeland Chamber, not knowing what else to do with it, entered it "till further order" iu their "Book of the Colonies"—where it remains unique. (See Extracts, pp. 132, 133.) The creek by which the mill stood has ever since heen known as Sugar Creek (*Zuiker Creek*). The petition clearly implies that this mill was the earliest. It, of course, does not follow that before this mill no sugar was raised in the colony, but only that, if so, it was pressed out after the primitive Indian fashion. But the Zeeland Chamber itself, in its memorial of 1751 (*Ned. Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1092), affirms, as a result of its search through the records, that "beside the monopoly of trado to the colouy, the Zeeland Chamber of its own authority also established therein plantations for the cultivation of sugar and of other products there growing, whereof the earliest example is found in their Minutes under June 8, 1671;" and it even bases an argument on this late beginning of cultivation. That the date should be earlier is suggested not merely by Doensen's petition, but by an entry of 1669 (Extracts, p. 138); hut it is not unintelligible that the Chamber shonld overlook things which happened in tho period (1658–70) when the colony was under the control of the Walcheren cities. They are unlikely, however, to be in error as to the earlier years. Modyford, the English governor of Barbados, indeed wrote home iu 1652, in a letter nrging the colonization of Guiana, that "the Dutch have already on two or three rivers built suger workes, one of them at Marawini . . . another at Berbice River and another at Esseqneke [Essequibo]." But he may more easily have been mistaken as to this one point than the Dutch records. (See British *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574–1660, pp. 373, 374; for a transcript of the document I am again indehted to Her Majesty's Government.)

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the Essequibo establishment is the more striking because the other Dutch colonies on the coast, both those of the patroons and those planted directly by the Company, had all been of settlers.

How far afield or in what direction, their commerce with the Indians or their exploration of the country took the Dutchmen of Essequibo, or what they counted the limits of their occupation, we have as yet no means of knowing. The Company had as early as 1627 thought of providing Jan van der Goes with a sloop,[1] and there is no reason to doubt that he had used one to visit neighboring rivers unoccupied by Europeans, as even the private colonists of Berbice were encouraged to do.[2] Of outposts there is thus far no mention.[3]

Such as it was, the post on the Essequibo remained in 1648, as it had always been, the westernmost establishment of the Dutch on this coast, and was now, with the exception of Berbice, their only Guiana colony.[4]

With the conclusion of a lasting peace with Spain and with the renewal for another quarter century of the Dutch West India Company's charter, one might look for a rapid colonial development. But the Company was now robbed of the privateering which had been its leading source of revenue, and bankrupted by the long and fruitless struggle for Brazil. It

[1]Extracts, p. 46.

[2]Extracts, pp. 46, 47.

[3]When, in 1634, the Dutch merchant De Vries, in his prospecting tour along this coast, reached the Demerara, Jan van der Goes came thither to meet him; but there is nothing in De Vries's account to suggest the existence of a post there. (See his *Korte Historiael*, p. 135.)

[4]The Spanish document conjecturally ascribed by the Blue Book ("Venezuela No. 1," Appendix I, pp. 56, 57) to 1640 (this is modified in the *Errata* later published, to "some time before the treaty of Münster") is palpably of much later date. The Pomeroon was not settled till 1658, and Surinam was in British hands till 1667. Though untrustworthy for any date, the document belongs, perhaps, to about the year last named.

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is not till 1655, when the hopelessness of the recovery of Brazil had become apparent even to the Company itself, that the Zeeland Chamber seems first to have thrown open again the Guiana coast to colonization, on condition that the colonists should draw all their supplies and wares from Zeeland and ship thither their cargoes.[1] And it was not till late in 1656 (October 12) that they drew up a prospectus, inviting, under tempting conditions, the settlement of the Wild Coast.[2] This they followed, in 1657, with a new body of "liberties and exemptions" for patroons.[3] That these prospectuses were publicly promulgated does not appear, yet the invitation certainly reached the ears of both patroons[4] and of colonists, and "on March 22, 1657, the first free colonists, to the number of twelve persons, some with and some without family, wife, children, and slaves, arrived" in the Essequibo.[5]

But the Chamber still shrank from assuming alone the management of such a colony, and in 1657 (June 9) we find its members petitioning the provincial Estates of Zeeland to assume the direction of the enterprise, "it being their intention," they state, "with the approval of the Estates, to establish a colony and new population on the Wild Coast of Essequibo and neighboring places, stretching from the first to the tenth degree north of the Equator between the rivers

[1] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1093. It would seem that the Nineteen was also at this time promoting colonization in Guiana; for the Zeeland memorial of 1750 quotes from its minutes, now lost, a "body of liberties for founders of colonies," under date of August 30, 1655, in which colonists were forbidden to approach the colonies of the Zeeland Chamber nearer than fifteen Dutch miles along the coast or in the interior. And reference is in this connection made to their minutes for September 20, 1658, and September 3, 1659. (*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, p. 1504, note.)

[2] Extracts, pp. 113–117.

[3] Extracts, pp. 120–123.

[4] Extracts, pp. 117–120.

[5] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1093.

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Orinoco and Amazon, where there is granted them the exclusive right to voyage and trade, by virtue of their agreement with the West India Company"—i. e., the agreement of this Chamber with the Company as a whole.[1]

This petition failed through the opposition of some of the less commercial members of the Estates; but before the end of the year they found a taker for the task. The three great trading towns of Zeeland, the Walcheren cities—Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere—offered alone to undertake the matter; and there was transferred to them, in conjunction with a committee of the Zeeland Chamber and subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the Company and of the State, the colonization and management of the entire coast. "The aforesaid cities," ran their contract with the Company, "shall establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between the first and the tenth degrees."[2] The agreement between the cities themselves (December 16, 1657) is content to speak of their enterprise as "the business regarding the peopling and cultivation of the Wild Coast in America under the charter of the West India Company."[3]

Of their actual procedure we are happily fully informed through the still extant minutes of the managing board of the colony, made up of the representatives of the three cities, four among whom were also members of the Zeeland Chamber, sitting at the West India House in Middelburg. They rechristened the Wild Coast "Nova Zeelandia," and choosing as Director of the colony that same Aert Adriaensz. who had already for a dozen years been in command in the Essequibo,[4] they added to

[1] Extracts, p. 124.

[2] Extracts, pp. 125, 178.

[3] Extracts, p. 126; cf. pp. 125, 178.

[4] There can be little doubt, at least, that he was the same as the Aert Adriaensz. of Scherpenisse, whom we find named in the Zeeland Chamber's minutes for 1645.

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him (December 24, 1657) one Cornelis Goliat, whom, on account "of his experience in fortification, military science, and land-surveying, as well as in ciphering and book-keeping," they made "Commissary over the stores of the aforesaid place and Commandeur over the 25 soldiers to be sent thither, and furthermore engineer for the parceling out of lands, the making of maps, and the laying out of sundry strong-places or forts for the protection of the colonists." Thus burdened with functions, Goliat was dispatched to the Guiana coast, and on August 19, 1658, they received from him a "short description of the rivers Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Moruca, lying on the coast of Guiana, otherwise named the Wild Coast, now Nova Zeelandia." His results had, long ere this, profited the colonists themselves; for these, setting sail from Zeeland on February 2, 1658, had under his guidance established themselves, not in the Essequibo, but in its neighbor river to the westward, the Pomeroon, and the adjoining stream, the Moruca.[1]

Of this establishment, on which was expended most of the energy of the new effort at colonization, and which soon monopolized in current use the name of Nova Zeelandia, I have elsewhere to speak.[2] The Essequibo was, however, not abandoned. There still, at Fort Kykoveral, was stationed the Commandeur of the entire colony; and when, by 1664, the Pomeroon experiment was languishing, the erection of a sugar mill in Essequibo points to the turning of agriculture toward that river. A sudden end of things to both settlements was brought before the end of 1665[3] by an invasion of the English

(Extracts, p. 103; cf. also pp. 129, 139.) He was certainly the same who had been in command there since 1650. (Extracts, p. 139.) His surname of Groenewegen (Major Scott's "Gromwegle") is mentioned but rarely in the records.

[1] Extracts, pp. 127–129.

[2] See pp. 214–217 below.

[3] The date assigned this enterprise in modern books is 1666. The loss of the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber from the end of February, 1666, to the close of that year leaves

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from Barbados, who, under Major John Scott—taking advantage of the war then in progress between Great Britain and Holland in Europe—captured all the Dutch establishments westward of Berbice and left garrisons in the Pomeroon and in the Essequibo. But the Indians, more friendly to the Dutch, were induced to refuse the English all supplies; and the starving garrisons, after being harassed and shut up in their forts by the French, the allies of the Dutch, surrendered within a few months to Bergenaar, the Dutch commandeur in Berbice, who early in 1667 turned them over to a fleet sent for their rescue by the provincial Estates of Zeeland. Thus "Essequibo and Pomeroon, first taken by the English, then plundered by the French," and now "by the whole world abandoned"—to use the phrases of the Zeeland Estates themselves—passed again into the hands of the Netherlands.[1]

But into *whose* hands? The commandeur of Berbice would gladly have held them as his capture; but the Zeeland Estates ignored his claim and occupied them "as *res nullius*" (abandoning the Pomeroon, but maintaining a garrison in the fort of Essequibo) till they could find an owner who would meet the costs of their expedition. They at last (late in 1668) offered them to the three cities; but these, dismayed at the expense of a fresh beginning, would no more of them, and

us without light from that quarter, unless the break be in itself significant. From the English colonial papers and from Scott's own account, one gathers only that he set out from Barbados in October, 1665, and reached there again in April, 1666. But the narrative of the Surinam governor, Byam, makes it probable that Essequibo was attacked late in 1665; and this is the date named by Adriaan van Berkel, who was there in 1671 (*Amerikaansche Voyagien*, p. 26), and by the Zeeland Chamber in its review of the incident in 1686 (Extracts, p. 179). For 1666 I find no such contemporary authority. It must, of course, be remembered that to the English of that day the year 1665 ended in March of what we now call (and what the Dutch then called) 1666; and an error may easily have thus arisen.

[1] For the details of this episode see the English accounts printed in Extracts, pp. 133–138; *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1496–1501,—1751, pp. 1102, 1103; and Extracts, pp. 179, 180.

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thought of selling the colony. There was only the West India Company to fall back on. The Company, now nearing its end and more impecunious than ever, was slow to come to terms; but on April 11, 1670, its Zeeland Chamber concluded with the Zeeland Estates a compromise, by which it should again receive "the Fort and the Colony of Essequibo," on condition of paying the costs of the garrison which had occupied it and of pledging (beside certain favors to the neighboring colony of Surinam, newly won from the English, and *not* for the Company) that "the colony of Essequibo" should henceforward be open to all Zeelanders, "excepting that the trade in annatto dye shall be carried on by the aforesaid Chamber [of the West India Company] alone." And on October 15, 1670, the States-General, having heard "the request of the directors of the West India Company of these lands, setting forth how the Chamber of Zeeland had some time ago begun to form a colony on the Wild Coast of America upon the river Essequibo, and how this colony, having fallen during the English war into the hands of the English, was recovered again out of the hands of the English by the forces sent out to the coasts of America by the province of Zeeland, and that thereafter the aforesaid province of Zeeland had suffered itself to be persuaded to place it again in the hands of the Company," sanctioned the transfer and its conditions.[1]

All this time the colony, though many of its settlers had perished or fled over sea to the West Indian Islands, had not been wholly deserted; and it is not unlikely that the virtual abandonment of the Pomeroon accrued to the advantage of Essequibo. The former had been richly supplied with slaves, and 1,200 of these, seized by the English, were turned over by them in Essequibo at their surrender in 1666. These were doubtless put to use, and even before the formal resumption

[1] As to all this see *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1501–1508.

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of the colony by the West India Company, one finds considerable consignments of sugar as well as of dyes. But it is from that event and from the arrival of the energetic skipper, Hendrik Rol, in 1670, as the first governor[1] under the new régime, that a new era of prosperity for the colony seems to date. In his first year there were but three private plantations in Essequibo, two of them worked by 12 or 14 slaves apiece, the third, lying an hour above Fort Kykoveral (doubtless on the Mazaruni), by 28 or 30. In 1671 he won from Berbice the control of the Demerara. By 1673, if not earlier, he was trafficking with the Caribs in the Barima, as well as with the Arawaks, and he was also just opening a trade with the Orinoco.[2]

Such was the condition of the Guiana colony when, in 1674, the old West India Company, so long in the agonies of death, at last expired. To take its place there had already been created (by charter of September 21, 1674) one wholly new, with territorial limits widely different. Instead of the entire coast of America, there were granted to the new one on that continent only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." Of the situation or limits of these places there was no other definition than the phrase, "situate on the continent of America."

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[1]From here on I shall often call by this more familiar title the Essequibo Commaudeur. His functions were mainly civil, not military, and eventually there existed beside him in the colony a head of the garrison, known as the commandaut. That the Commaudeur was not called Goveruor, as he wished to be, seems to have been only a matter of rauk and pay; and it costs us uothing to give him the more appropriate title. Strictly speaking, however, the Essequibo governor remained a Commandeur till, in 1751, Storm van 's Gravesande received the higher title of Director-General, Demerara then receiving a commandeur of its own, though still subject to the authority of the Director-General, who resided in Essequibo. From 1784 the Director-General resided in Demerara, and it was Essequibo which had the Commandeur. In 1792, when the colonies passed from the West India Company to the State, the Director-Geueral became a Governor-General, and this title he retained.

[2]A. van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 43–48; Extracts, pp. 138–141.

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To the new West India Company, however, the meaning was not doubtful; and they entered without ado upon the administration of the colony. So slight was the break that Hendrik Rol was not disturbed, but remained its Commandeur until his death. But from the advent of the new Company its records are preserved to us in far greater completeness. From 1675 we have without a gap the missives by which the Company governed the colony, and from 1679 almost as uninterruptedly the letters and documents which came from the colony in return. From this wealth of material it is clear that the continuity of the colony was henceforward unbroken. Twice, indeed, before its final occupation by Great Britain it was for a time in English or in French hands—from 1781 to 1784 and from 1796 to 1802. But these occupations, bloodless and purely military, suspended neither its local institutions nor the trend of its territorial growth.

This territorial growth, though slow, was steady and knew no serious interruptions. The field of its activity, however, had striking changes. Until well into the eighteenth century the plantations of the Essequibo clustered themselves for safety about Fort Kykoveral, at the junction of the Essequibo with its two great western branches, and along the portions of these three rivers just above this junction. Down to this time much the larger part of the colony was on the west of the Essequibo.[1] When, in 1701, the colonial Court of Policy found it wise to divide the colony, for purposes of military organization, into two districts, it was thought fair to let the plantations in the Mazaruni make one, those in the Essequibo the other.[2]

[1] Cf. note, p. 348, below.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 68. The translation is here not untrue to the manuscript, but the manuscript is only a contemporary copy and the sense demands that "the (*de*) river" should be "that (*die*) river," and that the "river" (*riviere*) of the following line which from its form might be either a singular or a plural should here rather be translated "rivers."

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But, as these upper lands became exhausted, the more fertile lower reaches tempted even those who were already established above; and at the completion of the new fort on Flag Island, near the mouth of the river, and the transfer thither from Kykoveral (in 1739–40) of the garrison and the seat of government, the exodus had already become general.[1] By 1773 there was no longer any demand for grants of land up the river, and nearly all of it was given up to forests and annexed as timber grounds to the plantations below;[2] and by 1777 there was, with one exception, not a sugar, coffee, or cotton plantation above Flag Island—in fact, no culture whatever except a few cassava grounds.[3] Flag Island hugs the east side of the river, and whether it was due to this fact or to the opening and rapid colonization of the Demerara, while the Pomeroon remained closed, or only to the greater attractiveness of the lands, the center of gravity of the colony speedily transferred itself to the east of the Essequibo. Before the plantations on the west had reached the mouth of that river, those on the east formed a solid row clear around to the Demerara.[4] The Pomeroon was not reached by them until the very last years of the eighteenth century.[5] Meanwhile, the original site of the colony became a wilderness. As early as 1764 Storm van 's Gravesande could speak of "the few colonists who still live up the river"—meaning, as the context shows, at the old site of the colony, about the junction of Cuyuni and Mazaruni.[6]

[1] Already by 1748 the Cuyuni could be counted very remote. (Extracts, p. 316.)

[2] Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 3," p. 183 (No. 255).

[3] Extracts, p. 540.

[4] See Atlas of the Commission, maps 66, 67, 68, 70.

[5] Extracts, pp. 612–637. As to a single squatter on the Pomeroon, an isolated plantation on the Moruca, and a forbidden attempt to settle on the Barima, see pp. 222, 242, below.

[6] "*Nog boven in de riviere wonen.*" Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 134. Cf. also maps 66, 67, in the Atlas of the Commission; these make yet clearer this desertion.

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In the river Essequibo itself cultivation had at the outset of the eighteenth century been carried as far up as the first great rapid, that of Aretaka.[1] About the middle of the century a Jew named De Vries had even successfully attempted a sugar plantation above this first fall—doubtless only far enough up to secure fresh land.[2]

A town, even a village, there was never at any time on the Essequibo. "This is perhaps the only instance of a European colony, among thousands throughout the world," said in 1782 the proclamation providing for the creation of the new capital on the Demerara, "which has arrived at some magnificence without the establishment of either town or village."[3] The settlers lived, as they preferred to live, scattered on their plantations. The Company's officials and garrison were for long all housed on Kykoveral. In 1716 the Commandeur got permission to build a new government house on the mainland just opposite the island, on the Mazaruni side of the point formed by the two streams. The house was dubbed "House Near-by" (*Naby*), and the hamlet which gathered about it was called Cartabo, from the plantation which occupied the point. After 1740, when the colonial government was removed to the new fort on Flag Island, Cartabo fell to ruin. According to Hartsinck, writing in 1770, when it was "now in ruins," it had consisted "of twelve or fifteen houses."[4] On Flag Island, now coming to be called Fort Island, there likewise grew up a cluster of buildings: the fort, the public offices and warehouses, the quarters of the garrison, the dwellings of the officers—inventories of these buildings appear from time to time

[1] See Atlas of the Commission, map 59.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131. For other mentions of De Vries see pp. 85, 88.

[3] Rodway, *History of British Guiana*, ii, p. 8.

[4] *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 263.

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among the records of the Company; but a village in addition never arose there.[1] Even the colony church was for long not here, but on the plantation of Ampa, midway from Flag Island to Kykoveral.[2]

But while the territory thus actually occupied by the colony for purposes of cultivation, whether in the neighborhood of Fort Kykoveral or in the coast district, was confined within such narrow bounds, there was another colonial activity, which laid far wider regions under tribute. This was the colony's trade; for this trade was mainly a trade with the natives.

As we have seen, this was at the outset and for more than a quarter century of its existence its exclusive function. Even after plantations had there been established by its proprietors and the colony thrown open to private planters, it was alone this trade with the Indians which the Company retained as its own monopoly; and for many decades this remained its chief source of income and the object of its most jealous care. This it was in defense of which it built its forts, planted its outposts, maintained its garrisons. It would, therefore, be palpably unjust not to take this into account in any measurement of its territorial rights. To determine, however, its worth as a form of occupation, one must examine somewhat more closely its character and methods.

The products mainly sought by this trade were such as could be furnished by the Indians, and by the Indians alone: the dyes and oils and precious woods of the forest—annatto (called by the Dutch *oriane*), letter-wood, carap-oil, balsam copaiba. Annatto, the most important of these, was worked up by the Indians into balls or cakes for transportation; but

[1]For a sketch of what was there in 1748 see a corner of map 60 in the atlas of the Commission.

[2]Of the half-mythical Nieuw Middelburg on the Pomeroon (1658–65) I must elsewhere speak. See pp. 215–217, below.

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all alike were gathered without cultivation.[1] The natural supply of these was, therefore, at best, but constant, and the increasing demand made it necessary to seek them ever farther afield. The means employed to this end by the colonial authorities were of two sorts, which must be clearly distinguished. They had, first, the agents whom they called outrunners (*uitloopers*). These, who must have existed from the very beginning of the colony, scoured, by canoe or on foot, the whole country, stirring up the Indians to bring in their wares and barter them at the fort or themselves carrying into the wilderness the trinkets for exchange and bringing back the Indian produce. The outrunners were regular employés of the Company—in the later time usually half-breeds or old negroes familiar with the Indian dialects—and seem to have been sent on definite tasks. "All the old negroes," wrote the Essequibo governor to the Company in 1687, "are off for their several old trading-places among the Indians, to wit, six for annatto, two for balsam copaiba, and two for letter-wood and provisions."[2] Later these outrunners regularly appear in the muster-rolls of the colony. The districts or routes of their activity are, however, never named. Occasionally in the correspondence of the colony one hears of them in this region or in that, but too vaguely to infer their exact whereabouts.[3]

Of far more moment to the present investigation is the second means employed by the colony in the trade with the Indians. In addition to their *outrunners* (*uitloopers*) they came also to have their *outliers* (*uitleggers*). It was by this title, as we have seen, that the employés first sent to the Essequibo were known; and, in truth, the relation later borne by the posts

[1] Yet it is to be noted that the dye-trees had to be planted by the Indians. (Extracts, p. 156.)

[2] See letter of November 4, 1687, printed by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 374–377.

[3] See, e. g., Extracts, pp. 150, 161, 172, 257.

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of the outliers to the central fort of the colony was not unlike that borne for long by the colony itself to the home land. It was somewhat more than half a century after the beginning of the colony when a beginning was made of this new method. The suggestion may very possibly have come from Berbice. In 1671, when the neighbor river of Demerara passed into the control of the Essequibo colony, the Berbice authorities had in that river a post of 15 or 16 men, and the commander of this force had been stationed there some fifteen or sixteen years.[1] But it could scarcely have been on the taking possession of this river, nor yet on the occupation, two or three years later, of the Mahaicony, farther east, where also the Berbice colony had had an outlier, that the system actually went into effect; for it can hardly be doubted, from the tenor of Commandeur Beekman's letter suggesting such a post on the Pomeroon in 1679, that this was the beginning of a policy new to Essequibo.[2] Yet it was not long thereafter before there were posts on the Demerara and the Mahaicony as well. In 1691, the date of the first muster-roll preserved in the colonial records, we find mentioned only Pomeroon and Demerara; but by 1700, the date of the next roll left us, Mahaicony has joined them.[3] From this point on to the end our record of these posts is fortunately complete; not only are muster-rolls much more frequent, but, what is better, the pay-rolls of the colony, sent year by year to the home authorities and preserved with scarcely a break in the series, give us the names

[1] So testifies Adriaan van Berkel, the Berbice secretary, who visited the post in that year, and who made the bargain by which the river was turned over to Essequibo. (*Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 30, 31.) It is clear from Van Berkel's account, as from other sources (cf. Extracts, pp. 138, 139), that the Essequibo colony was already claiming the Demerara and carrying on trade there; but it does not appear that it had there, like Berbice, a force in actual possession.

[2] Extracts, pp. 144, 145.

[3] Extracts, pp. 192, 199.

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not only of the posts themselves but of every employé at these posts to whom a guilder was paid on the colony's behalf. They tell us the name, nativity, and term of service of all the outliers, or postholders, as they come later to be more commonly called, and of all the byliers (*byleggers*), or under-postholders, who to the number of one or two were associated with them in the management of the posts.[1]

From these sources it is clear that these posts were few, definite, constant. Besides the Pomeroon, the Demerara, and the Mahaicony there were but two other quarters of the Essequibo colony where such a post was ever in existence; in 1736 there was established (and thereafter maintained) a post on the upper Essequibo, and thrice during the eighteenth century (1703, 1754–58, 1766–1772) a post was planted on the Cuyuni. These five were all. The location of these posts did not, indeed, always remain precisely the same. The post at the mouth of the Pomeroon was, before the middle of the century, pushed a long way up the adjoining river, the Moruca, and before the end of it, migrated back to the seacoast again. That on the Essequibo was at least once moved much farther up the river. The three successive posts on the Cuyuni were almost certainly at as many different points. That on the Demerara was about the middle of the century absorbed by the new colony which had arisen in that river. Yet each quarter had but its single post; however, for strategic or other reasons its site might vary, its relation to the colony remained the same.[2]

[1] For specimens of these records, see Extracts, pp. 192, 199, 205, 207. As to the completeness of the series, see notes, p. 311, below.

[2] True, there seems to have been for a year or two (1703–1705) a second post on the Pomeroon—for what reason does not appear. Toward the close of the century, after Demerara had become a partially distinct colony, it established one or two posts of its own; but these do not concern the present discussion. For the proof of what is here stated as to the posts on the Pomeroon, the Moruca, and the Cuyuni I must refer to the later pages dealing with those rivers. As to the post on the upper Esse-

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What may have been the political significance of these posts is less easy to determine. Among the forms of occupation specified by the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, as precluding visit and trade by the subjects of the other power, was that by *loges* (in the Dutch text, *logien*). This word was at the time defined by the Holland Estates to mean warehouses.[1] But it is by this word that the posts are described (notably that on the Cuyuni) in the formal remonstrances of the States-General to Spain (1759, 1769).[2] The postholder and his one or two white assistants were usually old soldiers and remained enrolled among the military of the colony, at least until the year 1775.[3] The posts were supplied with arms, and the northwestern post, at least, had cannon as well; it was sometimes garrisoned with a larger force, and more than once stoutly and successfully resisted attacks from an armed foe.[4] When, after the raiding of the Pomeroon colony by the French, it was resolved in 1690 to abandon the plantations there, the West India Company instructed the Essequibo governor to leave there "three men with a flag for the maintenance of the Company's possession."[5] It was possibly this order which was in thought when in 1737 a later governor wrote the Company that the Moruca post must be kept up "because it was established for the maintenance of your frontiers stretching toward the Orinoco."[6] The presence of a post is, however, more than once coupled

quibo, see p. 208 of vol. iii of the Commission's report. Of the project, never carried out, to establish a post on the Barima, I shall speak fully in connection with that river. As to the Company's share in the establishment of the posts, see note, p 315, below.

[1] See note, p. 80, above. Cf. also pp. 81, 89.

[2] Extracts, pp. 384, 469.

[3] Extracts, pp. 443, 502, 504.

[4] Extracts, pp. 236–238, 241, 256, 455, 456; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74, 115, and *passim*.

[5] Extracts, p. 191.

[6] Extracts, p. 278.

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by the Essequibo governors with the thought of taking or maintaining possession of a district.[1]

The functions of the postholder and his assistants have been so fully and so clearly described by the colonial governors themselves, in documents now accessible in print, that they can hardly need here so much as a summing up.[2] The foremost during the earlier history of the colony was, of course, the traffic with the Indians. But with the oversupply of the markets or the gradual exhaustion of the forests, others took the foreground. "The most important work of a postholder," wrote the Essequibo Director-General in 1778, "lies in this, that through friendly and companionable intercourse with the Indians he seeks more and more to win them to us, that he further keeps a sleepless eye on the doings of the neighboring foreigners, both Christian and Indian, that he watches for runaway slaves, and has them caught and returned by the Indians."[3] To this, in the case of posts situated on avenues of inland communication, like that on the Moruca; or, to a less extent, that on the upper Essequibo or that on the Cuyuni during its brief existence, was added the supervision of travel and of import and export. Of the trade in *poitos*, or Indian slaves, which their Spanish neighbors believed the chief activity of these posts, there is less mention than might be expected in the records of the Essequibo colony. In the interest of the good will of the Indians, the rules governing it were

[1] E. g., Extracts, pp. 160, 322; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," 117, 131. Of the hoisting at intervals of the Company's flag (as stated by Mr. Rodway, *Annals of Guiana*, ii, p. 89), I have been able to find no mention. Even Mr. Rodway does not mention it in his later *History* or in his report on *The Boundary Question*, though in the latter he discusses the posts at much length.

[2] See, e. g., Extracts, pp. 241–243; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 191; and especially the instructions given to the postholders themselves (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 131–133, 140, 248; Extracts, pp. 581–584; and below, p. 241).

[3] Extracts, p. 543.

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strict.[1] Though always carried on to a greater or less extent, it is possible that the share taken in it by the Essequibo posts has been exaggerated by the identification with them of the itinerant slave-gatherers of other colonies, who likewise found in the Caribs of this wild intervening region the best purveyors of human flesh and blood.

But, beside this trade of the Company, and in spite of the monopoly long maintained by it, there was also a trade with the Indians carried on by private colonists. So far as this was the work of planters, aiming chiefly at the supply of their own wants, it needs no attention here. But there was in the colonies a class of men who gave themselves wholly to trade, especially to the slave trade and to smuggling. "Since this river begins to be filled with many inhabitants," wrote Commander Beekman, of Essequibo, in 1687, "some of them rove continually among the Caribs, buy up everything, and glut them with wares."[2] These were the so-called "rovers" (*swervers*).[3] They were mainly Europeans, and seem to have spent their lives in scouring the forests, making vast journeys into yet unvisited wilds, not less, perhaps, to gratify their love of exploration and adventure than to win a livelihood. To one who would draw from the peregrinations of these wanderers any inference as to territorial boundaries, there present themselves two serious obstacles: our almost utter ignorance of their routes, and the probability, from what little we do know, that they were wholly indifferent to boundaries of any sort. If, too, we find rovers from Essequibo far afield in the region

[1] See, e. g., the ordinance of 1686, printed by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 367, 368.

[2] Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 376, where the letter is given in full.

[3] This word is, in the Blue Book, rendered by a puzzling variety of English ones: not only by "rover," or "wanderer," but by "runner," "traveller," "trader," "itinerant trader," "itinerant hawker," "depredator" (p. 117), even by "pirate" (pp. 116, 117).

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stretching toward the Orinoco, so too we find there rovers from Berbice and from Surinam, from the French colonies on the main and in the islands, from the British in Barbados, from the Portuguese in Brazil, and from the Spaniards at the west.[1] Some, too, seem to have changed their political allegiance at will.[2]

The chief external trade of the colony, and the only one of interest to the present research was that with the Spaniards of the Orinoco. Begun as early as 1673,[3] it seems always to have been carried on by that inland water route connecting the Moruca with the Barima and must have involved more or less of intercourse with the Indians of this region.[4] Now connived at, now hampered by the Spanish authorities, it was always encouraged by the Dutch West India Company, save for a brief period of prohibition (from 1684 on) when they were clearly moved by distrust of their own governor.[5] Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century this trade was carried on mainly by the Dutch. But from 1761 it became the settled

[1] The earliest of whom I have found record are those named by Major John Scott (see Extracts, pp. 134, 135), who in 1665 gave him excellent information as to the upper Orinoco. For further mention of rovers, or of those who were probably such, see Extracts, pp. 156, 158, 159, 161–164, 172,182, 229, 230, 239, 274–276, 278, 306, 315, 319, 320, 332, 372, 373, 403, 414, 547, 548; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 74–76, 91, 93, 95–97, 100, 102, 103, 113, 116–118, 125, 130, 132, 135, 136, 148. Spanish documents have also much to say of them. Their lawlessness is noted by Dutch and Spanish alike. The competition of the Surinam traders was especially complained of by the Essequibo authorities. (Extracts, pp. 239, 278, 322, 332.)

[2] Such as that Ignace Courthial who played so large a part in the intercolonial trade during the eighteenth century.

[3] Extracts, p. 140.

[4] There is in the minutes of the Zeeland Chamber for 1750 a very puzzling passage (Extracts, p. 333), which seems to imply that Spanish traders came from up the Essequibo, and which may perhaps point to a traffic by way of the Cuyuni. Of the trade in horses, which was carried on by the Dutch *via* that river at the beginning of the eighteenth century and which some have thought a trade with the Spaniards, I speak elsewhere. (See pp. 308–316, below.) More or less of smuggling seems always to have been carried on by that route.

[5] Extracts, pp. 168, 173, 182; and, for further discussion, see pp. 260, 268, below.)

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policy of the Company and of the colonial authorities to transfer the conduct of this trade to the Spaniards.[1] So successful were they that from this time forward one scarcely hears of Dutch traders to the Orinoco;[2] and in 1794 the Governor-General, though himself a son of the colony, was seemingly ignorant that this trade had ever been in other than Spanish hands, and described to the home authorities with interest the Moruca-Barima route as "the course of the Spanish lanchas."[3]

Fishery must from the first have been of prime importance to the food-supply of the colony.[4] From an early date it was systematically carried on both in the upper rivers and on the seacoast to within the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amacura.[5] Hunting, too, especially that of the wild hog abounding in these regions, was a matter of moment; and it led the Dutch up the Cuyuni and Mazaruni and into the coast region as far as the Amacura.[6]

Of the mining enterprises of the colony, so far as these led beyond the plantations, I shall speak in connection with the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni; and something as to the cutting of timber and thatch must be said in discussing the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima.

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[1] Extracts, p. 394 (cf. also p. 318); Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 116, 119.

[2] The readiness with which it was taken up by the Spauiards is suggested by Storm's words, in 1764, about their passage of the Moruca post (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131). So, too, in his letter of September 27, 1763 (id., p. 126), the clause "the road to the Spauiards leads past this post" should rather be translated "the road of the Spaniards hither" ("*Ook is de passagie der Spanjaerden naer hier voorby de door*").

[3] Extracts, pp. 616, 617. In the transcripts herewith submitted (vol. ii) pains have been takeu to include whatever might throw light ou the history of this Orinoco trade. The table of contents will prove, I think, an adequate guide to this.

[4] Cf. note, p. 192, above.

[5] The Orinoco and Amacura fishery I first find mentioned iu 1681 (Extracts, p. 150), but then iu terms which suggest that it was no new thing. Of later Spanish attempts to have this coast fishery of the Dutch I shall speak in connection with the several rivers.

[6] Extracts, pp. 152, 157; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 62.

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The treaties of the Dutch West India Company with native tribes are carefully preserved; but there is none with the Indians of Guiana. No such treaty is known to the extant records of the Company or to the documents transmitted from the colony. In 1776 the Essequibo Director-General, having sought in vain in the colony itself for documents throwing light on the original compacts between the colonists and the Indians, wrote to the Company to learn if they could supply him with copies of any such. "There must have been made in the olden day," he urges, "some convention between the Europeans and the free Indian nations," "though there is here nothing of the sort to be found."[1] But the search of the Company must have been equally ineffectual, for his question was left unanswered. Nor have I found anything in the records to suggest that the Dutch here ever looked on the Indians as possessing any ownership of land.

To sum up this long chapter:

1. So nearly as can be determined, the Dutch occupation of the Essequibo dates from the year 1625.

2. Until 1657 the colony, a mere post for traffic with the Indians, consisted of a score or two of the Dutch West India Company's employés housed on the island of Kykoveral at the junction of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni.

3. Settlement, begun in 1657 and from 1658 carried on with vigor both in the Essequibo and the Pomeroon under the charge of the Walcheren cities, was interrupted for a year or two by the British seizure of 1665–66; but, resumed in 1670 by the old West India Company and continued from 1674 by the new, met with no further interruption.

4. From its beginning until 1740 the colony, radiating from the junction of the three rivers, had its center and major part

[1] Extracts, p. 509.

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west of the Essequibo and south of the Cuyuni, but from that time on drew toward the seaboard, till by 1777 cultivation above Fort Island was practically abandoned.

5. No *town* existed, at any time, on the Essequibo.

6. Trade, from the first, knew far less narrow limits than settlement. That with the Indians was carried on (1) by the West India Company's outrunners and (2) by its posts, and (3) by private rovers. The routes of the outrunners are little known; the rovers were irresponsible and heedless of frontiers; the posts were few, fixed, certain, and had a military and political as well as a commercial use. Trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco was carried on through the territory now in question, by way of the Moruca-Barima passage. Till after the middle of the eighteenth century it was mainly in the hands of the Dutch, but later fell wholly into the hands of the Spaniards.

7. Fishing and hunting, from an early date, led the Dutch into the upper rivers, and westward along the coast as far as the Amacura and the mouth of the Orinoco.

8. Of treaties with the Indians there is no record.

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3. THE DUTCH IN THE POMEROON.[1]

The first Dutch occupation of the Pomeroon, so far as is known to historical records, was in the year 1658.[2] It was in that year that the three Walcheren cities, having taken off the hands of the West India Company the colonization of the Guiana coast, sent the engineer Cornelis Goliat to survey the region and lay out the new colony.[3] It was doubtless on

[1]The name has been spelled in a strange variety of ways: Baroma, Barouma, Baruma, Baumerona, Baumeronne, Bauron, Baurum, Bauruma, Boirrum, Boueroe, Bonmeron, Boumeronne, Boumeroune, Bouroma, Bourona, Bouronne, Bourum, Bouwerou, Bowroom, Bowroome, Paroma, Pauroma, Paurooma, Pawroma, Pomeron, Pomerun, Ponmaron, Pontmarron, Poumaron, Poumeron, Pouroona, Powmeron, Pumaron. Yet I have not seen any spelling in which the accented vowel (answering to the *oo* of Pomeroon) is not *o* or *u* or some equivalent of these. (I have once found Baurocma, but the Dutch *oe* is pronounced like our *oo*. "Pomeroon" first appears late in the last century.) This makes impossible any confusion with Barama or Barima.

[2]I have already pointed out (pp. 136, 137, note) the baselessness of the assertion of the presence of the Dutch there in 1580. This and all other suggestions I have seen of an earlier date than 1658 for the occupation of the river are demonstrably misunderstandings of the careless statement of Hartsinck. In 1619, according to the contemporary Fray Pedro Simon (*Noticias Historiales*, p. 664), the Spaniard Geronimo de Grados made an expedition into this river and compelled the natives to yield submission and give him provisions (cf. also p. 258, note). It is, of course, not impossible, or even improbable, that after their establishment in the Essequibo the Dutch traded also in the Pomeroon; but there has been found no evidence of this.

[3]Extracts, pp. 127, 128. The prospectus of the new colony, issued on November 26, 1657, is printed by Otto Keye, in his "*Onderscheyt tusschen Koude en Warme Landen*," or "*Beschryvinge van het heerlycke ende gezegende Landt Guajana*," (1659, 1660), which is itself but a larger prospectus. In this the colonizers are called "Patroons of the Zeeland Colony at Essekebe [Essequibo], Paurooma [Pomeroon], and Maruga [Moruca]," and the author speaks more than once (as, e. g., at p. 104) of their "*colony on the Rivers of Paurooma and Maruga in Guajana.*"

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his advice that they made the Pomeroon the site of their leading settlement. Goliat sent home a description of the region from the Demerara to the Moruca, with a chart and a plan of the proposed settlement. On the right bank of the Pomeroon, some 15 or 20 miles above its mouth, there was to be a town which should bear the name of Nieuw Middelburg. Above this was to be built an imposing fortress called, after the colony, Nova Zeelandia. Below the town, on the same side of the river, was to stand the "House of the Height,"[1] doubtless a fortified lookout, such as was usual in the Dutch colonies. But it is greatly to be feared that none of these ever approached completion.[2] "Had it not been for the English war," wrote the Zeelanders themselves less than a century later, in their memorial of 1750, "Nova Zeelandia would surely have become one of the most flourishing colonies of America, one Cornelis Goliath having brought over a new map of the region and having already framed a plan for the building of a town, Nieuw Middelburg; yet Zeelandia Nova was not to attain this good fortune, but through the sword of our foe [the British] and the plundering of our then ally [the French] was to be left lying empty and waste."[3] It lived but half a dozen years. Colonists, indeed, poured in, negro slaves were liberally supplied,

[1] "*Huis der Hoogte,*" not "*Huis ter Hooge,*" as it has been commonly called. For discussion of this name and its meaning, see pp. 170–172, above. That at this point there *was* a height, the first of its sort on the river, we know from the careful reconnoissance made in 1779 by the Spanish officer Inciarte, who chose this hill as the natural site for his projected fortress.

[2] That the foundations, at least, of the fortresses were laid appears from a letter of the Essequibo governor in 1760, wherein he declares these still to be found there. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114.)

[3] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1750, pp. 1500, 1501. Even apart from the English invasion, however, the colony had begun to languish. The means of the three cities were unequal to the task. As early as 1660 Vere was unable to pay its stipulated share of the costs, and before the end of 1663 the managing council in Zeeland had become so embarrassed that it broke up altogether. (Extracts, p. 179.) There is, therefore, the more reason for doubting that the plans of Goliat fruited in realities.

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and by 1665 the governor of the neighboring English colony of Surinam could pronounce it "a most flourishing colony," "greatest of all [the Dutch] ever had in America."[1] But the end was at hand. In the winter of 1665–66 the English from Barbados, led by Major John Scott, after taking possession of the Essequibo, swooped down also on the Pomeroon, and left the colony in ruins. What was left was devoured by the military occupation of the French, who followed the English in its possession. It was an entire year before the invaders were here dispossessed, and the settlers had meanwhile scattered to the four winds.[2] But, though thus destroyed prematurely from the earth, Nova Zeelandia still lived on paper. Even before the colony's ruin the chart of Goliat fell into the hands of his enterprising townsman, the geographer Arend Roggeveen of Middelburg, and when a little later that map-maker brought out his fine atlas of these coasts—the "Burning Fen, lighting up all West India"—Nieuw Middelburg, with its fortress Nova Zeelandia and its Huis der Hoogte, took a handsome place on the map, which it did not lose till almost our own day.[3] All

[1] Extracts, p. 137.

[2] See pp. 196, 197, and authorities there cited. According to the minutes of the States-General, it was on March 3, 1667, at the request of the Zeeland Chamber, "examined and considered whether and on what basis" the colonies which had been captured by the English and retaken by the French might be claimed back; whereupon, "after deliberation, it was found good and resolved that Mr. Van Benningen, the minister extraordinary of this State in France," be instructed to demand "the restitution of the islands of Tobago and St. Eustache, together with the colony of Pomeroon, all situate in America" (. . . "*de restitutie van de eylanden Tabago ende St. Eustache, midtsgaders van de Colonie van Baumeroma, alle in America gelegen*"). A fortnight earlier, on February 16, 1667, authority had been given the Zeeland Chamber to send out a certain person "whom for the preservation of their colonies they had resolved to send to the Wild Coast, in order there to take command of Fort Kykoveral, situate in the River Essequibo." But between these dates (on February 28) Admiral Crynssen, who had before the end of 1666 been sent out by the Zeeland Estates, arrived on the Guiana coast, and soon had the colonies in his possession.

[3] Roggeveen's *Brandende Veen* was first printed in 1675, but the text was written while the colony yet existed, for he speaks of it as still in being. He quotes Goliat

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through the eighteenth century no map was complete without them. They still figure in the Venezuelan maps of the present century. This was the only town which, even on paper, the colony of Essequibo knew until the rise of Stabroek, toward the end of the last century; and it is not strange, perhaps, that their Spanish neighbors of the Orinoco, unable to understand a community all scattered on plantations, assumed it to be the Dutch capital. But, though the Pomeroon colony was gone, the "place" was still counted of an importance to warrant its

as his authority, and seems to follow him implicitly. According to his narrative it would seem that Goliat's chart began at the Coppenam. "*De selve is my ter hant gekomen,*" he says, speaking of the coast west of that river, "*van eenen Goliath, zynde Ingenieur en Commandeur van Esequeba, met de volgende Rivier tot Poumeron toe, heel curieus afgeleght*" ("This has come into my hands very carefully drafted by one Goliat, engineer and commander of Essequibo, together with the following rivers as far as the Pomeroon"). This last clause doubtless refers also to Goliat's map, and is of interest as showing the limit of his survey. In his description of the Pomeroon, to which he gives the alternative title "or Rio Nieuw Zeelandt," Roggeveen writes: . . . "There are sundry other branches, emptying both from the west and from the east into the river, which one must pass before one reaches the House of the *Hooght* and *Nieuw Middelburg*, and the Fort *Nova Zeelandia*" ("al-eer men komt by 't Huys der *Hooght*, ende *Nieuw Middelburg*, ende 't Fort *Nova Zeelandia*"—italics as in Roggeveen's text). "The town *Nieuw Middelburg* and the Fort *Nova Zeelandia* are built by the oft-mentioned Goliath, as engineer and commandeur at that place, whose description here ends." Goliat is said to have been "known, above all, as a very capable and accurate surveyor and map-maker," and distinguished himself in that field after his return from Guiana (Nagtglas, *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen*). Roggeveen settled in Middelburg about 1658, and had great local eminence as a geographer. He is said to have platted his maps himself. (Nagtglas, as above.) In the title of his atlas he calls himself "*Arent Roggeveen, Liefhebber Mathematicus, professie doende in de zelfde Konst tot Middelburg in Zeeland.*" Roggeveen's map is faithfully followed, as to the sites of these places on the Pomeroon, by Hartsinck's description (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 259) in 1770, and by Bouchenroeder's map of 1796–98 (atlas of the Commission, map 70), which, however, marks them as "ancient" or "ruined." The passage of Roggeveen's text which especially shows the colony in existence when he wrote is one not without an interest of its own. "It is needless," he says, in speaking of the Essequibo, "to write much further of the character of this river, for this has become well enough known since the three cities, Middelburg, Flushing, and Vere, have there erected a colony; yet their principal relations are with the river Pomeroon." (*Om veel verder van de gelegentheyt deser Rivier te schryven, is niet noodigh, alsoo sulcks genoegh bekent is geworden, t'zedert dat de drie Steden, als Middelburgh, Vlissinghe, en Veere, aldaer een Colonie hebben opgerecht; doch de principaele correspondentie is in de Rivier Pomaron.*)

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mention in 1674, along with Essequibo, in the charter of the new West India Company. There is, however, in the records of that body for some years no mention of any attempt to make use of it.[1]

It was in October of 1679 that Abraham Beekman, then Commandeur in Essequibo, wrote to the Company (in the earliest letter from the colony now found among its records) that "The river Pomeroon also promises some profit. In order to make trial of it," he explains, "I sent thither in August last one of my soldiers to barter for annatto dye." The soldier

[1] Just when the last European of the Nova Zelandia colony left the Pomeroon can not be learned. The Dutch admiral, Crynssen, on taking possession in 1667, is said to have left a garrison in that river as well as in Essequibo (Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 224); but this was doubtless only until the wish of the Zeelanders could be learned as to the resumption of the colony. We hear no more of Europeans there; and, in 1671, a Berbice attempt, reported by Adriaan van Berkel, to send thither a cargo of wares, together with the Essequibo governor's confiscation of the venture, implies that only Indians were then in possession there. A manuscript among the "Evertsen papers" (marked "Moore, 1790"), in the Lenox Library, containing a cipher for use by the squadron destined in 1672 for the recapture of New York, gives signs for Cayenne, Surinam, Berbice, and Essequibo, but none for Pomeroon. Yet in 1673 the English captain, Peter Wroth, discussing the resources of the Dutch for the defense of Surinam, thought it possible that they might "strengthen themselves from the garrisons of Berbice, Issakebe [Essequibo], and Baruma [Pomeroon]." (British *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1669–1674*, pp. 517, 518.) Another English document of a half dozen years later, though it evinces some geographical confusion, has doubtless reference to the district between the Essequibo and the Orinoco. It is a petition to the King by one Marke Fletcher, who, "having pitched upon a place to the leeward of Surinam and Essequibo, called Demerara, fitting for a plantation and place of trade," "requests His Majesty will grant his patent for establishment of same, or at least a provisional order to prosecute the affair with assistance from the governors of the Leeward or Caribbee Islands, and privilego to transport to Barbadoes and other islands the trees and canes cut down for clearing the ground." (British *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1677–1680, Nos. 714, 771, pp. 255, 281. These two entries evidently refer to the same petition, and I have treated them accordingly.) Demerara is, of course, *not* to the leeward of Essequibo; but, in view of the wording of the petition and of the circumstances, the place had in mind probably was so. It is not strange that the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in reply, desired first "to be informed on certain points: as to whether any are seated thereabouts, what tract of land he means to take in," etc. Thus they answered on July 30, 1678. A sequel does not appear.

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had been temporarily recalled because of a raid of the Caribs; "but the scare being now over," writes the Commandeur, "I shall send him back there within four or five weeks (the dye season not fairly beginning there before that date), and if the trade prospers it would not be a bad idea to build there a little hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river. Thus these would be stimulated to furnish a deal of annatto—for the place is too far off for them to bring it here to the fort."[1]

Of this post, which was speedily established, one hears often in the letters of the next few years. The annatto trade flourished there, but by 1686 the Company had a better use for the Pomeroon. An Essequibo planter on a visit to Holland—one Jacob de Jonge—persuaded them to open that river to himself and other settlers. After satisfying themselves that the Walcheren cities and the Zeeland Estates no longer had a valid claim there, they granted the petition, made of the new settlement an independent colony, and appointed De Jonge Commandeur. He set out at once for his colony, arriving and beginning operations there in April, 1686. Colonists followed, and the settlement was in a hopeful way, when, after even a briefer life than that of its predecessor of 1658–1665, a European war again proved fatal. On April 30, 1689, just three years after the colony's birth, the French, guided by the Caribs through the water passage leading from the Barima, and reinforced by those savages, fell upon the settlement in the night and utterly dispersed it.[2]

No attempt was ever made to reestablish it. The West India Company, on receiving full tidings, only instructed (November 15, 1689) the Essequibo commandeur to leave there the

[1] Extracts, pp. 144, 145.

[2] Extracts, pp. 174, 181, 188; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 60–66.

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Company's flag, with three men, in order to retain possession.[1] The post was established and maintained, though, as would appear, with but two men instead of three. At least, according to the muster-roll of September 6, 1691, there were there only a postholder and a single assistant.[2] In 1700 it was on the same footing; but in this year we begin to hear a new name for its site: where the pay-roll for this year makes Jan Debbaut "postholder in Pomeroon, at the Company's trade house," the muster-roll makes the same soldier "postholder in Wacupo."[3] By 1704 the pay-roll, too, adopts the new title for the post, calling Jan Debbaut "postholder in Wacupo."

Now, the Wacupo, or Wacquepo, is a branch of the Pomeroon, joining it from the left just a little above its mouth: a branch of much commercial and military importance because it has (or had), at least in time of high water, a navigable communication with the river Moruca to westward, and, through that river, with the system of bayous by which canoes make their way to the Waini, the Barima, and the Orinoco. Through this passage it doubtless was that the French had made their way in 1689 for the destruction of the colony. It was, therefore, very natural that a post for the protection of the Pomeroon should find a site on the Wacupo; and this site offers a ready explanation for the double name. This solution gains support, too, from another name. In the journal of the Pomeroon Commandeur for 1686 one reads of a "postholder in Courey."[4] Now, Courey, or Korey, is the name of the swampy meadows through which the canoe-channel led from the Wacupo to the

[1] Extracts, pp. 190–192.

[2] Extracts, p. 193.

[3] Extracts p. 199. From 1700 to 1703 the muster-rolls fluctuate between Wacupo and Pomeroon; after that, they call this post always Wacupo—spelling the name variously.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 64.

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Moruca (or, rather, to its branch, the Manawarima);[1] and no point on the Wacupo could be a more natural site for a post than the junction with the passage through these wet meadows. If a post were already there in 1686, it is surely not improbable that its buildings should be chosen for the later occupancy.

It would appear, however, that there was now for a year or two a second post on the Pomeroon; for we learn from the pay-rolls that on July 14, 1703, Paulus Veefaart was made "post-holder in Pomeroon," and both the pay-roll and the muster-roll for 1704 register him there, with an assistant, while Jan Debbaut and his assistant are still accredited to Wacupo. On April 6, 1705, however, he was discharged from the Company's service; and, although on the muster-roll for June 18, 1705, his assistant, Dirk Schey, still appears in the Pomeroon, it was perhaps only to finish out the year. In the following year we find him serving as bylier in Demerara, and the name Pomeroon does not again occur among those of the posts.[2]

The post of Wacupo remained and flourished. Twice during the War of the Spanish Succession its garrison had successful brushes with the foe—in 1709 and in 1712—the second time repelling with its four men a much superior force of French and Spaniards.[3] In 1707 Commandeur Beekman suggested the laying of a toll "in the rivers Moruca and Pomeroon" on the traders from other colonies who passed through these inland waters for traffic on the Orinoco, but his successor deprecated the step as involving too great expense.[4] It would, indeed, have been necessary to plant a new post on the Moruca or to remove that of Wacupo to some point where it would com-

[1] Extracts, p. 237. Cf. Atlas, map 68.

[2] In the muster-roll of October 20, 1707, the Wacupo post is called, it is true, "The Company's dye-house in Pomeroon and Wacupo."

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74; Extracts, pp. 236–238, 241.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 72,73; Extracts, pp. 229–232.

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mand both entrances to the Orinoco route. For other reasons this step had at last to be taken. In 1726 (October) the then Commandeur announced to the Court of Policy his conviction that the Wacupo post was too far out of the ordinary course of boats and his wish to remove it to the Moruca. With the secretary and one of the councilors he made a tour of inspection and selected there a site for the post; and the Court of Policy voted (December 2, 1726) "to establish the house and the Post of Wacupo upon the aforementioned site as soon as possible" That this step was then or soon after taken is my belief. My reasons for it I shall set forth in detail in my study of the occupation of the latter river.[1]

The removal of the post to the Moruca must have left the region of the Pomeroon practically deserted. Planters since 1689 there had never been.[2] A little before the middle of the eighteenth century ("ten or twelve years ago," wrote the Essequibo Director-General to the Company in 1758) one Erasmus Velderman was granted by the Court of Policy permission to dwell in the river and raise there the cassava needed to keep him alive, but without owning any land; and when at his death (prior to 1758) he assumed to bequeath his holding to an Essequibo planter (Jan La Riviere), the Court forbade the inheritance. Velderman may have cut some timber there, but if so, thinks the Director-General, it was probably very little.[3]

Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande (1743–1772) was indeed frankly and earnestly opposed to all occupation of the Pomeroon until the available lands not only in the Essequibo but in the Demerara (which had been opened under his auspices,

[1] See pp. 230, 231, below.

[2] In 1698, indeed, the Company instructed Commandeur Samuel Beekman to send again a planter thither (so says Beekman's letter of August 11, 1698); but it does not appear that one was actually induced to go.

[3] Extracts, pp. 375, 376; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106.

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and of whose success he was justly jealous) should all be taken up.[1] In 1758 he wrote to the Company that permission to cut timber in the Pomeroon had in 1753 been granted by the Court of Policy to one Edward Ling (an Englishman from Barbados then resident in Essequibo), but that, after taking out only two shiploads, Ling had gone back to Barbados. But there is here certainly a *lapsus memoriæ* as to the scene of Ling's operations, for the records of the Court of Policy show that he asked to cut, not in the Pomeroon, but in the Waini, and that in 1754 the Court expressly reaffirmed this in refusing the similar petition presented by Abram Van Doorn (one of their own number) and several other colonists. They had granted, they said, to Ling and his partner "liberty to cut timber in the Waini, but by no means in the Pomeroon." If Ling cut timber there notwithstanding, as is of course not impossible, it was clearly in express violation of his permit.[2]

In 1756, however, another English planter, Isaac Knott, again asked permission to cut timber in the Pomeroon, to supply the demand in the English West India colonies; and this time the Court of Policy, tempted, perhaps, by the large annual payment he offered, gave its consent. The Director-General, however, protested; and through the home authorities his opposition seems to have been effective.[3]

Thus the Pomeroon remained, as the Director-General called it, "a district bringing no earthly profit to the Company"—

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108; Extracts, pp. 373, 374.

[2] Extracts, pp. 343, 376; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 98.

[3] Extracts, pp. 367, 371, 373, 375-377; Blue Book "Veuezuela No. 3," p. 108. One Jacques de Salignac is mentioned by the Zeeland Chamber as if a fellow-petitioner for the same favor. The matter seems uow to have dropped out of thought; but the Pomeroon remained closed. One Williams, a colonist who had deserved well of the Company in the suppression of a slave-revolt, ventured in 1774 to ask for "2,000 acres of land in the river Pomeroon, on the east side," in order that he might raise timber there (Blue Book "Vcnezuela No. 3," p. 186); but his petitiou was probably shelved with the others.

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he might have added "or to the colony"—until the very last years of the eighteenth century. It remained under the care of the Moruca post,[1] and was mainly resorted to by the colonists for the cutting of timber or of thatch.[2] In 1783, indeed, while the colony was in the possession of the French, grants of land in the Pomeroon were made to certain French colonists, on condition that they should begin work on their plantations within six months.[3] But before the year was half gone the restoration of the colony to the Dutch was under negotiation, and it is hardly likely that any of the grantees were so rash as to enter upon the occupation of such uncertain property. Certain it is that after the Dutch reassumption of the colony, in March, 1784, nothing is heard of these settlers in such colonial records as reached Holland. From this time on, it is true, applications for lands in the Pomeroon poured in thick and fast.[4] But the authorities suffered these to accumulate pending formal action for the throwing open of the river. Not until the year 1794, in fact, although the coast plantations had then for some years been approaching the mouth of the Pomeroon, was completed the survey and map on whose basis that river itself, with the adjoining territory as far as the Moruca, was to be thrown open to settlement; and not till the following year did the home authorities take action thereon. The plan submitted by the Governor-General of the colony included a reservation of ground for a town at the mouth of the Pomeroon, and provided for fortifications at both

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

[2] Passes granted to boats for this purpose become very frequent in the records in the later years of this century.

[3] I owe the knowledge of this to Mr. Rodway (*History of British Guiana*, ii, p. 21), who had access to the records still remaining in the colony.

[4] A multitude of them are still to be found in the volume of the West India papers (Hague, Rijksarchief, vol. 2012 d) marked "*Stukken betrekkelyk het uitgeven van Gronden, Essequebo en Demerary, 1785–179[1]*." None ask for land *west* of the Pomeroon.

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sides of the entrance to that river.[1] These suggestions were still under advisement,[2] and little or nothing could yet have been done toward the actual occupation of the river when, in April, 1796, the British took possession of the colony; and the Bouchenroeder map, completed after this seizure, shows no trace of cultivation in this river.[3] But by the year 1802–3, when it was for a little time once more in Dutch hands, it seems fair to infer from the way in which the river is mentioned, both by the authorities in the colony and by the Colonial Council in Holland, that cultivation had now reached if not invaded it.[4]

From the first Dutch occupation of the Pomeroon, in 1658, down to late in the eighteenth century, the claim of the Dutch to that river seems to have been unquestioned. The attack of the English in 1665–66 and that of the French in 1689 were hostile invasions in time of war. In 1769, for the first time, we hear in Dutch records of a counterclaim: the Spanish governor of Orinoco was said to have declared that the territory was Spain's as far as the bank of Oene, in the mouth of the Essequibo.[5] During the years which followed, though Spain and Holland were at peace, there was more than one Spanish incursion into the Pomeroon;[6] but, though ravages were committed along the coast and Indians abducted from the interior, there was no attempt actually to take possession of the river. Of the *Instruccion* of the Spanish Intendant-General of Venezuela, in February, 1779, for the occupation and settlement of Guayana "to the borders of the Dutch colony

[1] Extracts, pp. 607, 608, 612–632; Atlas, map 69.
[2] Extracts, pp. 637–639.
[3] Atlas, map 70.
[4] Cf., e. g., Extracts, pp. 652, 660.
[5] Extracts, pp. 467, 468, 495; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 175, 176.
[6] Thus in 1769, 1775, 1786, 1794. See pp. 244–246, below.

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of Essequibo" the Dutch authorities seem to have known nothing; but of the reconnoissance later in that year by the Spanish officer Inciarte, which not only made careful inspection of the Pomeroon, as of the rivers west of it, but even selected a site for a fortified place in that river,[1] they knew. The Moruca postholder reported the presence of the Spaniards, and the Indians had heard them say that they were coming back in three months to erect a fort; but the Director-General, having assured himself that they were "all gone without having done any harm" to the post or to the Indians, evinced no disquiet about the matter, and no steps seem to have been taken toward protest or further investigation.[2] The latest incursion known, that of 1794, was repelled by the Indians, under the lead of a Dutch colonist.[3]

It appears, then, in brief, that:

1. The river Pomeroon was first colonized by the Dutch in the year 1658. This colony, while still in its infancy, was destroyed by the British in 1665–66.

2. After lying a score of years unpeopled, it was again colonized in 1686; but only to be laid desolate by the French in 1689.

3. Thereafter the river was never again thrown open to settlement until the very last years of Dutch occupation.

4. It remained, however, in the constant possession of the Essequibo colony, guarded by a post and drawn on for dyewoods, timber, and thatch, being explicitly held in reserve for the later growth of the colony.

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[1] See his report, in Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87–96.

[2] Extracts, pp. 561, 562.

[3] Extracts, pp. 632–637.

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4. THE DUTCH IN THE MORUCA.[1]

Only 2 or 3 miles west of the Pomeroon there empties into the sea the little river Moruca.[2] It comes, however, from a very different quarter of the compass. Taking its rise in the low coast lands to the west, half way to the Waini, it flows for two-thirds of its course southeastward, nearly parallel with the seacoast. Then, receiving from the interior the two creeks, Haimara and Manawarima, it turns, at its junction with the latter, sharply to the northeastward and so reaches the sea. The stream owes its importance to this unusual direction of its course and to the fact that from its upper waters there is a passage navigable by canoes, at least during the rainy season, to the rivers at the west, and so into the great water system of the Orinoco. The powerful current forever sweeping westward along the Guiana coast renders the eastward voyage along that coast all but impossible for sailing vessels, as also for boats propelled by hand; and the Moruca became, therefore, as to some extent it still is, the regu-

[1]The name appears in many forms: Maroc, Maroca, Marocco, Maroco, Marocque, Marocques, Maroque, Maruca, Maruga, Maruka, Moroca, Morocco, Moroco, Morooca, Morowoco, Morroca, Moruca, Morucca, Moruga, Moruka. De Laet spells it also Ammegore (*Norus Orbis*, 1633, p. 649); but this is almost certainly a confusion with the name of the Amacura—cf. his p. 660.

[2]Maps disagree somewhat as to the distance of the Moruca from the Pomeroon; but this was the result reached by the two colonial surveyors in 1794. (See Atlas, map 69, and cf. Extracts, p. 619. The Dutch rod of that day, it must be remembered, was only three-quarters the length of the English one.) Strictly speaking, no exact statement is possible, since the Pomeroon empties at such an angle to the Moruca and to the coast that the western limit of its mouth is indeterminable.

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lar avenue for the coasting trade with the Orinoco—not alone that of the Essequibo, but that of the other Guiana colonies as well.[1] Through these inland waters a foreign foe from the mouth of the Orinoco or a band of hostile Indians could steal into the Moruca, and even, through another passage navigable at high water, into the Pomeroon, without that certainty of warning which hindered an approach by sea. It was doubtless by this route that the Spaniards carried on that early traffic with the Pomeroon and the Essequibo of which we know through the pages of Raleigh and of Jan de Laet.[2] Through it, doubtless, in 1637 went that Dutch expedition from the Berbice and the Essequibo which laid Santo Thomé in ruins.

But the first mention in Dutch records of any attempt to take the stream into possession is when in 1658 the engineer Goliat inspected the coast in search of a site for the new colony of Nova Zeelandia. In that year he sent home a "short description of the rivers Demerara, Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Moruca," and when the Pomeroon was made the site of that new colony the Moruca seems to have been included.[3] In the book put forth to tempt settlers to the colony the settlement itself is spoken of as the "Colony on the rivers of Paurooma [Pomeroon] and Maruga [Moruca]," and its projectors are called the patroons of the Zeeland Colony in Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Moruca; Byam, the contemporary English governor of Surinam, calls the colony in 1665 "Bowroom

[1] Cf., e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131.

[2] Cf. pp. 182, 258. The basclessness of the long-current error that in 1596 the Spaniards drove the Dutch out of the Moruca has been convincingly shown by Professor Jameson on pp. 58–60, above.

[3] See pp. 214–216, above for the authorities for these statements. It has seemed best to repeat here much already told in speaking of the Pomeroon, rather than to leave the story of the Moruca incomplete. Their close association gave them in much a common history.

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[Pomeroon] and Moroco;" and Major John Scott, who in the winter of 1665–66 captured the colony for the English, says that he was commissioned to seize several settlements of the Netherlanders in Guiana, "as Moroco [Moruca], Wacopow [Wacupo], Bowroome [Pomeroon], and Dissekeeb [Essequibo]."[1]

After the ruin of the Pomeroon colony in 1666 we hear no more of the Moruca; and there is no reason to suppose it occupied again before the reestablishment of that colony in 1686. Then, in the correspondence of the Commandeur, De Jonge, we find it again mentioned, though only as a near place for barter with the Indians.[2] As, however, it was proposed to make plantations on the Wacupo, at its very threshold, on the Manawarima, the main tributary of the Moruca itself, and in the Korey savannas between the two, there can be little doubt that the lower Moruca also would speedily have been inhabited, had not this colony, too, been abruptly ended by the raid of the French in 1689.

From this time onward it is nearly a score of years before I again find mention of the Moruca. In 1707 the Dutch commandeur of Essequibo, Samuel Beekman, proposed to the Company the laying of a toll "in the rivers Marocques and Boumeron [Moruca and Pomeroon]" on boats, balsam, Indian slaves, and cacao brought in from the side of the Orinoco through this passage by the traders of Berbice; but Beekman's successor, who followed him in the same year, opposed the project, and it was not carried out.[3] That the Wacupo post, though so near, did not then or for some time after effectively guard the entrance to the Moruca seems deducible from

[1] See pp. 196, 197, 215, 216, above; and Extracts, pp. 135–137.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 64.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 73, 74; Extracts, pp. 236–238, 241.

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the Commandeur's objection to this toll on the ground of expense, and from the fact that when, in 1613, an Essequibo agent was met at the mouth of the Pomeroon by a party of French and Spaniards and driven back into the Moruca, he could only reach the post two days later by way of the upper passage through the savannas of Korey.[1]

It was in order to make the post an effective guard of the Moruca, as well as of the now less used Wacupo entrance to the Orinoco route, that in October, 1726, Commandeur Gelskerke informed the Essequibo Court of Policy of his intention to inspect the Wacupo post, "knowing that the said post lies far out of the ordinary course of boats which come hither through the inland waters;" wherefore, "it was his intention to choose a fit place in the river of Moruca to which he might transplant the house and post, since all boats which come through the inland waters must pass that way." Accordingly, in company with the secretary and one of the councilors, he made a journey thither, and in December reported to the Court of Policy their decision "that the fittest place" for the post "was at the landing where those fetching horses, coming from the Orinoco into the river Moruca, usually make a stop (a place called in the Indian language Accoujere), it being possible to build the house there so close to the river side that a hand grenade can be thrown into the boats, the river being at its narrowest there."[2]

There is every reason to believe that the transfer thus foreshadowed was then or soon after actually made. For, though for many years the post retained the old name of Wacupo, one begins from 1731 on to find coupled with this name that of

[1] Extracts, p. 237.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 80. The Dutch of the phrase defining the site runs: "*aen de waterplaats daer de paarde Haelders, uit d' Oronocque in de Rivier van Maroco komende, ordinair pleysteren.*"

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Moruca,[1] which gradually crowds the other from use.[2] And when, in 1757, the Spaniards of Orinoco, hearing that the Dutch were building a new post on the Moruca, sent to reconnoiter, they found the old post still 6 leagues up the river from its mouth—a point which seems fully to tally with the site chosen in 1726.

It is at such a site, well up the Moruca, that the post appears on the map of Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, in 1749,[3] and on the little Jesuit map handed in by him in 1750.[4] And this site well answers to the description given in 1747, by the Spanish governor, in a description of the inland passage for boats, of "the stronghold called the post, which the Dutch of Essequibo maintain with three men and two small cannons, 16 leagues from the colony toward the ship channel" of the Orinoco.[5] The Capuchin missionaries who visited it in 1769 described it as "a thatch-covered house on the east bank of the river Moruca," and declared it to have been tolerated there about forty years.[6]

For the purpose of giving warning of the approach of an enemy the post at its new site was speedily put to use. In May of 1628 the Court of Policy, having learned from the postholder of the seizure by the Orinoco Spaniards of a Surinam fishing vessel, and being else informed of the probability of a war between Holland and Spain, "resolved to reenforce the aforesaid post of Wacupo with two soldiers and to direct

[1] The name "Wacupo and Moruca" does not occur in the pay-rolls until 1733, but is frequent thereafter. Cf. Extracts, pp. 278, 305, 307, 309, 332; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 88, 94.

[2] From about 1747. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 89, 91, 94; Extracts, pp. 317, 321, 327. It is not until 1754 that the name "trading-place in Moruca" appears in the pay-rolls.

[3] Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

[4] Atlas of the Commission, map 61.

[5] Venezuelan "Documents," iii, p. 184.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 114.

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Jan Batiste [the postholder] to keep the necessary beacons in order, so that" they might "receive the earliest information in case the Spaniards should send any armed vessels to this colony," and the postholder was instructed, in case the post of Wacupo should be attacked, to "defend it to the utmost." The soldiers were accordingly sent, together with these instructions.[1] Apart from such reenforcement of soldiers at times of danger, the post was equipped (as we learn from a report as to ordnance received by the Company in 1731) with four small cannon—two two-pounders and two one-pounders.[2]

If it had been in the thought of the colonial authorities that the advance of the post might lead to increased trade with the Indians the hope was disappointed. In 1737 the governor had to report to the Company that "the post Wacupo and Moruca, formerly the most important trading-place for the Company's annatto trade, has these last years fallen off in this business." He had taken pains to learn the cause of this and had found it due, not to the neglect of the postholder, but to the competition of the Surinam slave traders, whose more lucrative traffic made the Indians sluggish about dye gathering. "While I see no way of changing this," adds the governor in words full of interest, "we must nevertheless keep up this post, because it was established for the maintenance of your frontiers stretching toward the Orinoco."[3]

By 1754 another use for a post on this side of the colony had forced itself upon the thought of the planters. The escape of slaves to the Orinoco was a growing evil, and the current sweeping westward along the coast made it quite possible for these runaways to take the route outside by sea instead of the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," p. 81.
[2] Extracts, p. 256.
[3] Extracts, p. 278.

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inland passage guarded by the post. To intercept these coast-wise fugitives, the post, a half-dozen leagues up the river, was, of course, quite useless. In January, 1754, it was accordingly resolved by the Court of Policy, on petition of the citizen militia, "to place a post on the side of the Moruca," at its mouth, "to prevent the desertion of slaves."[1]

The panic soon after, caused by the rumor of a Spanish invasion from the Orinoco, gave the colony for a time other things to think of, and other uses for the Moruca post. On September 2, 1755, Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande, alarmed by the prospect of a Spanish attack, had written of detaching "eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Moruca, which will," he fears, "bear the brunt."[2] A week later (September 10) the militia officers petition "that an armed boat be placed at Moruca to keep guard" and to report any approach of the enemy;[3] and by October 12 the Director-General is able to report to the Company that "two small vessels have been made (whereof one is ready, and the other almost so) to keep guard[4] between Moruca and Pomeroon," and another, a private barque, "equipped to go and lie by the angle of the Pomeroon." In the same letter he reports that he has "sent order to Moruca to cause all inland waters and passages to be blocked,"[5] so that the foe "may not be able to pass with small vessels."

Yet, on January 5, 1756, the panic having subsided, the Court of Policy again took in hand the change of the post; for it was clearly at this time in thought, not to establish a new post at the mouth of the Moruca, but to remove the old one

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 97; but notice, p. 98, the temporary abandonment of the project.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 99.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 101.

[4] "*De wacht*" (not "the way," as in the Blue Book).

[5] "*Toe te laete kappen*," i. e., to block by felling timber.

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to that site. This was accordingly ordered.[1] The order was, however, not carried out. This we know, first of all, from the Spaniards. Toward the end of 1757, Iturriaga, the commander of the Spanish forces in the Orinoco, heard through the Capuchin missionaries that the Dutch were building a new fort on the Moruca. Accordingly he sent a subordinate to visit the place and bring back tidings of the result of his reconnoissance. This subordinate, on December 2, 1757, reported in writing that the only basis of the rumor was the intention of the Dutch to remove to the mouth of the Moruca "the guard which, under the name of post, they maintain on the Moruca channel." For this purpose, he learned, they had "cut down trees and made clearings. He heard, also, of the houses to be built for the Arawak Indians and the Dutch;" but this news he was unable to verify with certainty. Iturriaga, on receiving this report, conjectured that to prevent desertions and for the protection of the sugar plantations from slave revolts, the Dutch might build there a small fort, with a few small cannon, and manned by from four to six men.[2]

But, three months later, the subordinate sent to reconnoiter had another report to make. On March 30, 1758, he wrote that the change of the post on the Moruca had not taken place. The Dutch had built at the mouth of the river only a house 15 yards long, with a stockade and gates; "and this," he writes, "is for the use of those engaged in the trade of the Colony, and to serve as a rest-house while the river is in flood." The old post was still kept up at its old site, 7 leagues up the

[1]Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106. This action is stated by the minutes of the Court to be "in satisfaction of the resolution of this Court dated the 7th October, 1753" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 106). As the resolution is accessible, if anywhere, only in Guiana, no transcript of this resolution of October 7, 1755, existing among the papers transmitted to Europe, I have been unable to examine it.

[2]Venezuelan "Documents," iii, pp. 161-169. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 89, 90.

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river from the sea, and was equipped with three unmounted cannon, three-pounders, and manned by a corporal and two soldiers, besides the Arawak Indians. The latter were gathered in three villages, of ten or twelve houses each, lying a league apart on the banks of the Moruca.[1]

The post was doubtless, then, at this old site when in 1758 (January 6) the Essequibo secretary wrote of a canoe load of cattle aground "in a certain canal, called Itaboe, situated under the Company's post Moruca,"[2] and at this old site it is shown by all fresh maps of the colony drafted prior to 1784.[3] The most minute and satisfactory account of the site of the Moruca post, however, is due to another Spaniard, the young officer Inciarte, who in 1779 made an official reconnoissance of the entire region from the Orinoco to the Pomeroon. His lucid report[4] makes it clear that the post was on the south of the river, at a point in its upper course where the stream turns at right angles from a southeasterly to a northeasterly trend—a point opposite the modern Catholic mission of Santa Rosa.[5]

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 91. Venezuelan "Documents," ii, pp. 102, 103.

[2] Extracts, pp. 374, 375.

[3] Atlas of the Commission, maps 64, 66, 43, 68. Cf. also the Spanish maps of Cruz Cano and Surville (maps 50, 71), and especially map 43, the English map (1783) of Thompson, who was for a time in command of the colony during the English occupation of 1781–82.

[4] Printed in full in Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87–96 (pp. 84–89 of the English translation).

[5] See, e. g., the Schomburgk map published in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5." The site thus described by Inciarte perfectly tallies with that assigned the post in the most careful of the extant Dutch maps of this region (Atlas of the Commission, map 68—though transmitted in 1791, the map must have been drafted not long after 1769), except that the whole course of the Moruca, as in all maps of the last century, is represented as northerly. That the post was on the "east" bank, i. e., the right bank, of the river was also testified by the Capuchin missionaries in 1762. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 285, 286.) And with this all the maps agree. Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of the colonies, writing in 1770, indeed says: "On the said river or creek Moruca, which about 2 or 3 [Dutch] miles from the sea unites itself with the creek Wacupo, . . . we have at the junction of these creeks a post, which was formerly a fortified house equipped with several cannon, but is now

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As to how the watch-house, or rest-house, at the mouth of the river, was cared for is to be gathered only from passing allusions. A settler, one Beissenteufel, was granted land for a plantation at the mouth of the river on condition of maintaining there the outpost watch. But, soon after, he had the misfortune to blow himself up with a barrel of gunpowder, and it is possible that the watch-house was then abandoned, though it may have been somehow kept up until the abandonment of the plantation, in 1767.[1] Yet in 1765 the Moruca postholder, who had apparently come down to the coast in the effort to intercept certain fugitives, could report, "I am lying between the mouth of Moruca and Pomeroon, so that I can see everything that passes the seacoast"—language which certainly does not imply the presence there, at that date, of a regular lookout.[2] And the historian Hartsinck, writing in 1770, after mentioning the post's erection there in 1757 at the joint cost of the Company and the planters, declares that "it has since fallen to ruin."[3]

At this site the post remained until the English and French occupation of the colony in 1781–1784. For a decade before this, however, there had been discontent over its remoteness from the sea. On August 27, 1772, Director-General Storm

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fallen to ruin." But Hartsinck was never in the colony, and his geography of all this region is too confused to inspire faith in his conclusions. The "now fallen to ruin" is perhaps only the strong phrase of an Amsterdamer for that neglected state of the colony's defenses which was just then being made a ground for the overthrow of the Zeelanders' monopoly.

[1] See pp. 242, 243, below, and cf. Extracts, p. 580.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

[3] "*Op de Westhoek van deeze Rivier* [Pomeroou] *is, in den Jaare 1757, op koste van de Compagnie en de Burgery van Essequebo te samen, een Post gelegd, om het wegvluchten der Slaaven, over Zee, te beletten: doch dezelve is sedert in verval geraakt.*" (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, pp. 258, 259.) This phraseology, it must be confessed, suggests a more considerable post than the lookout above described; and this is not less true of the language of the Director-General in 1779 and of the Court of Policy in 1785 (Extracts, pp. 561, 580.)

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van 's Gravesande wrote the Company of his surprise to find it so far back, and pointed out that, while "it lies indeed directly before the inland passage through the itabos and there wholly commands that,"[1] "it is absolutely useless as far as regards the runaway slaves, who pass along the coast by water;" for these had now learned to take the sea route and profit by the westward current. This complaint grew frequent. By 1777 the colonial Court of Policy was unanimously of opinion that "the post in Moruca is located too high in the creek, and therefore should be removed and placed lower at the seacoast;"[2] but the commandant of the garrison insisted, in opposition to the rest, that the post should be made a military one, with a corporal and eight soldiers, since a civilian with Indians could not arrest the deserting soldiers who escaped by that route.[3] The Director-General protested to the Company that, as a postholder's chief duties were only to win the good will of the Indians, to keep a watchful eye on neighboring foes, whether European or native, and to catch runaway slaves by the aid of the Indians, the soldiers would do more harm than good.[4] But the Company seems to have sided with the commandant, and on June 24, 1778, the Ten ordered that there be erected at the seacoast a new and purely military post, equipped with four or five 8-pounders and the necessary ammunition, and manned by a corporal, a cannoneer, and three soldiers; and, notwithstanding the Director-General's protests, these instructions were reiterated on May 7, 1779. A sketch plan for the proposed post

[1] "*Dezelve legt wel regt voor de binnenlandsche passagie door diffabos* [sic] *en kan die daar volstrekt beletten.*" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 180, where, however, as will be noticed, the translation is not quite exact.) "*Diffabos*" is, of course, for *d'ittaboe:* the letter is a copy by a secretary, and there are in it several slips of this sort (cf. vol. iii, p. 141, note).

[2] Extracts, p. 539.

[3] Extracts, pp. 539, 542, 543.

[4] Extracts, pp. 543, 544.

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was also transmitted.[1] It would not appear, from the resolution itself, that this was meant to disturb the old post on the inner waters, but the Director-General seems to have felt himself free to interpret it otherwise, for on September 23, 1779, he wrote to the Amsterdam Chamber: "I have had a piece of forest cleared by the Indians for the Post of Moruca on the old site again, at the angle and mouth of the Pomeroon, in order to move the post back thither, since the present post is of little or no use." He is preparing, that is to say, to establish it at the point between the mouths of the Pomeroon and the Moruca, where the lookout had been placed in 1757.[2] "Yet," he adds, "since for this twenty-five or thirty men are needed, in order to lay it into polder [i. e., to dike it], and the dry season is already too nearly gone, I have resolved to go thither myself in the coming March and April . . . so as to carry out the work promptly under my own oversight."[3] That this plan was carried out I find no reason to question; yet the new site can hardly have been more than ready for the post when early in March, 1781, the colony was seized by the English.[4] Whether or no the English maintained the post, the French, who succeeded them in the possession of the colony, abandoned it; for on December 5, 1783, the Spanish officer, Inciarte, who had made so successful a reconnoissance here in 1779, reported the abandonment to his superiors,[5] urging them to take advantage of the opportunity by occupying the place. This, however, so far as is known, was never done.

[1] Extracts, pp. 556, 559.

[2] See pp. 234, 236, above.

[3] Extracts, pp. 561, 562.

[4] Note again that the map of the English captain, Thompson (Atlas, map 43), who was commander of the English forces here, represents the post at the old upper site.

[5] . . . "*pero noticioso de que con motivo de haberse apoderado los franceses de la dicha colonia de Esquivo durante la guerra, han abandonado los holandeses la Posta avanzada que tenian á orillas del rio Moruca.*"

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When, in 1784, the Dutch reassumed possession of the colony, steps were promptly taken for the carrying out of the Company's long deferred plan for a military post at the mouth of the Moruca.[1] Its site we know with exactness from the map made by the colonial surveyors in 1794.[2] It was on the

[1]Extracts, pp. 579–586. Since my return from Europe my attention has been called (by Mr. Rodway's study on *The Boundary Question*, lately published by the government of British Guiana) to a passage which, as it purports to come from a Dutch document, deserves here a word of comment. The document in question is the report of a joint committee of the West India Company, composed of deputies from the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers, which sat at the Hague in May, 1783, and drew up a plan for the reorganization of the Guiana colonies, then in the hands of the French but about to be given back to the Dutch. This report is printed in the appendix to the fifth volume of the *Brieven over het Bestuur der Colonien Essequebo en Demerary gewisseld tusschen de heeren Aristodemus en Sincerus*—an anonymous attack on the control of the colonies by the Company, published at Amsterdam in 1785–86. As there printed, the report contains, among many others, this recommendation: "That also on the Orinoco a post for defense both against the escaping of slaves and other things ought to be established, and manned with a detachment from Fort Island" (*Dat meede aan de Oronoque een post van defensie zo tegens 't wegloopen der slaven als anderzints behoord te worden aangelegt en met een detachement van 't Fort-Eiland voorzien*). I remember no such startling phrase in the manuscript of this document (which, in that case, I should of course have transcribed), and the suspicion is irresistible that there is here an accidental omission of a word or two, and that the resolution originally read "on the *side of* Orinoco"—i. e., on that frontier of the colony. (Compare the phrase of the Essequibo Court of Policy, in 1777: "On the frontiers, and to the side of Orinoco, there lies a post in the creek of Moruca."—Extracts, p. 539.) But, to my deep regret, there is not time to seek light from Holland on this point, and my suspicion must remain only a suspicion. Whatever the case, no such instruction as this was transmitted to the colony; and the language of the Holland Estates and of the Director-General of the Colony, in September, 1784 (Extracts, pp. 574, 577), and especially that of the Colonial Court of Policy in reestablishing the Moruca post in March, 1785, (Extracts, p. 580), make it very improbable that there had been serious intent to transfer that post to the Orinoco. It is to be noticed that the Hague report, as printed in the work above described, recommends specifically no other provision for the defense of Essequibo than the restoration of the fort on Fort Island and the creation of this alleged Orinoco post.

[2]Atlas, map 69. Cf. Extracts, pp. 612–632. Were it not for this careful official map, which puts the matter beyond doubt, there are sundry passages whose phraseology might suggest that the post was on the *west* side of the Moruca. Thus (1), the instructions of the Ten in 1778 (Extracts, p. 552) prescribe that the new post shall be built "at the western point of the creek Moruca." (2) When, in 1785, the colonial Court of Policy took measures for its establishment, "it was resolved to

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east bank of the Moruca, at its very mouth. There it thenceforward remained.

With this final change of site there took place also, in pursuance of the Company's directions of 1778, a considerable change in the management of the post. Theretofore the Moruca post, like the other posts, had been regularly manned only by an outlier (*uitlegger*), or postholder, and a bylier (*bijlegger*), or under-postholder, aided by the Indians, who were encouraged to dwell about it.[1]

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fix the place therefore on the lower point of Moruca." (Extracts, p. 580). Now, the "lower" point, in the parlance of the Guiana coast, should certainly mean that down the current—the western point. (3) In 1794, in an inventory of the papers found in the government archives in Essequibo, there is listed "a projected plan of the post on the west side of the creek Moruca." (Extracts, p. 611.) And (4), in a rough sketch-map of the Pomeroon region drawn in 1793 by the surveyor Chollet (Hague, Rijksarchief, map No. 1544), the post is actually represented on the west of the Moruca at its mouth. But, as regards these, it may be remarked that in three of them the error, if such, may have but a single source. The transmitted plan was very probably that sent in 1779, and might be expected to bear a title borrowed from the resolution of 1778 which gave rise to it. And the phraseology used by Director-General Trotz in acknowledging this plan—"a drawing for the post of Moruca on the west coast of our river" (Extracts, p. 363)—sounds not unlike a courteous attempt to call attention to an error. Chollet's map of 1793 was confessedly a hasty and misleading one; it was dissatisfaction both with this and with that of the rival surveyor, Van der Burght, which led to the Governor-General's personal visit of 1794 and to the careful map of that year. Moreover, as colonial surveyor, Chollet probably had access to the maps in the government's archives and may very possibly have been misled by the title on the very plan above described. Less easy of explanation is the phrase of the Court of Policy in 1785; but it is at least possible that they may have used "lower point" in distinction from the point up the river where the post had so long stood, or that the point may be thought of as "lower" with relation to the Essequibo and the colony as a whole. What makes it hardest to believe that the post could ever have stood on the west bank is the certainty that it was not there in 1794 and the absence in the careful records of the years preceding of any mention of a removal. Yet reliance on such negative proof is proverbially hazardous. There is, too, in the *Reisen* of Richard Schomburgk a noteworthy passage as to substructures still existing in the mouth of the Moruca at the date of his visit, a half century ago.

[1]On the duties and prerogatives of the Moruca postholder much light is thrown by the extant instructions drawn up for him in the year 1767 by the Essequibo governor. These "Provisional Instructions" issued to Postholder Diederik "Neels"

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Now, in 1785, it was put under the command of an experienced soldier, who bore the military title of commandant, and

by Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande on October 7, 1767, are to be found only in the colonial records still preserved in British Guiana. They have been printed in translation by Mr. Rodway in his report on *The Boundary Question*, published in 1896 by the government of British Guiana. As they have not been reprinted in the Blue Books of the British Government, and are hence not easily accessible, it will perhaps be of use to give them in full here—of course, in Mr. Rodway's English only, the original Dutch being out of reach:

"1. He shall treat the free Indians kindly and gently, and do them no wrong, or allow anyone else to illtreat, injure, or oppress them, and he shall try as far as lies in his power to induce them to come and live on the post.

"2. He shall pay strict attention to, and the Indians shall take notice of, the desertion of either red or black slaves, and all possible means shall be adopted to pursue and capture them, and they shall be promptly paid for their capture as customary.

"3. He shall not allow anyone to pass the post without a pass or permit, except well-known inhabitants who are pursuing their slaves, and who have had no time to obtain permits; he must help and assist such persons as much as lies in his power, and assist with propriety all others who come with passes.

"4. He shall, as far as possible, pay strict attention to everything that transpires in Barima and give an exact written report of the same, and also of anything extraordinary that transpires on the post.

"5. Free trade is only allowed him on or about the post; he shall be bound, when required, to trade on behalf of the Honourable Company, and he shall likewise be allowed to do so for other parties.

"6. In regard to boats, hammocks, etc., which are brought to be sold, he shall be bound, if required, to give us the preference to purchase them for the same prices which are offered by others.

"7. From the Spaniards arriving with tobacco, etc., he shall demand 5 per cent import duty, and shall deliver the amount here.

"8. Passes and permits given to pass the post shall be considered as valid for one journey only, in order to prevent abuses.

"9. And he shall further conduct himself in everything becoming to a loyal and vigilant Director, and shall be supplied with further instructions or ampli[fic]ations of what he will have to do.

"L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

"RIO ESSEQUEBO, AT FORT ZEELANDIA, *7th October, 1767*.

"Anyone passing the post with a pass to hire Indians, he shall order this person or these persons to call at the post on their return, so that he may inquire of the Indians if they have been illtreated or forced when they were hired; in which case he shall forthwith report the same to the Directeur-General. After the end of the three months, this being the expiration of the Indian's time (term of service) and the period for returning to their houses, they shall call again at the post to notify him of their return, and that they were paid and not illtreated."

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whose pay, instead of the old monthly stipend of 14 florins, was the handsome yearly salary of 800 florins.[1] At first his subordinates seem to have been all soldiers, but with 1787 a bylier again appears, and thereafter we find the post equipped with two or even three of these.[2]

After the expiration of the West India Company and the assumption of the colonies by the State, in 1792, the only post which continues to appear on pay and muster rolls is that of Moruca.[3] It continued to be maintained until the occupation of Essequibo by the British in 1796.[4] When in 1802 the Dutch reassumed possession, one of their earliest acts was the resumption of the Moruca post, which had been left by the English occupants in a sadly dilapidated condition. It was made the station of a detachment of soldiery, but continued still, and doubtless to the end (September, 1803), to be administered also as a post.[5]

Plantations on the Moruca there were none after the ruin of the Pomeroon colonies of 1658–1665 and 1686–1689 until the middle of the eighteenth century. There came then a single exception. One Frederic Beissenteufel established at the mouth of the Moruca a plantation which, because of its remoteness, he christened "Loneliness" (*De Eensamheid*).[6] Here he

[1] Extracts, pp. 580–586. For Bartholy's earlier career, see p. 618. In the pay-rolls he regularly appears as commandant, though he is elsewhere often spoken of as "postholder."

[2] This appears from the pay-rolls and muster-rolls.

[3] Muster-rolls of this period may be found in vols. 804–809 of the West India papers in the Rijksarchief. The pay-rolls for 1792, 1793, and 1794 are in vols. 2657–2659.

[4] Extracts, pp. 611, 616–618, 632-634. Unprinted records show the postholder there to the end.

[5] Extracts, pp. 656, 657. In the journal of Governor Meertens, under date of July 5, 1803, there is a list of the civil functionaries of Essequibo, among whom the staff of the Moruca post are now included. One F. Schmaltz appears as "postholder," on the reduced salary of 400 florins, while poor Bartholy himself (or one bearing his name) is only bylier, at 150 florins a year. And there is named for the first time a new official at the post—the "Mission-garden overseer" ("*Missie tuyn baas*").

[6] So it appears year by year in the directories of the colony.

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dwelt, with his family and slaves, till he was accidentally blown up in an explosion. His widow migrated to Demerara, and the estate, after being in 1766 sacked by a party of Spaniards,[1] passed into the hands of the Rousselets.[2] Mrs. Rousselet complained, however, that it was the greater part of the time under water, and at length refused to pay the taxes levied upon her.[3] It was accordingly, in 1769, offered at sheriff's sale with its belongings.[4] It seems, however, to have found no purchaser; and it is of this particular land, not of land on the Moruca in general, that on January 6, 1772, the Essequibo Court of Policy (replying to the complaint of Mrs. Rousselet, who had appealed to the West India Company) wrote that "this land was granted without determination of the number of acres and upon the express condition that the owner or owners should be bound to establish an outpost there—it being an estate lying close to the river Orinoco, full two days' sail from here, [and, having been] for a considerable time left uncultivated by the petitioner [i. e., by Mrs. Rousselet], in a word, fallen to ruin and at nearly every high tide under water, wherefore it must now be sold without delay."[5]

It is probable that the estate remained in the hands of the

[1] Extracts, p. 415.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 144, 145; Extracts, p. 440. The Rousselets, who were prominent people in the colony, of course did not live there, but worked the place by means of an overseer. Rousselet, who died soon after this acquisition, had been colonial secretary and seems to have had peculiarly close relations with the Spaniards, which may account for his desiring this Moruca plantation.

[3] The documents relating to the quarrel with Mrs. Rousselet fill much space in the records.

[4] Extracts, p. 491.

[5] See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 179, 180, where a very different translation is given. The Dutch of the essential portion is as follows: . . . "*gehouden zoude zyn aldaar een buytenpost te houden, zynde, een grond gelegen digt by Rio Oronocque, twee dagen ruym zeylens van hier, by de suppliante een geruyme tyd niet gecultiveerd, en ten eenemaalen vervallen meest alle springtyden onder water, dus moest dezelve voetstoots verkogt werden.* The confusing punctuation is, of course, that of the original.

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government; for, when in 1794 the Pomeroon lands as far as the Moruca were at last laid out for settlement, it was suggested by the colonial governor that those from the mouth of the Pomeroon to the Moruca post should be reserved for the colony's own use; and neither in this suggestion nor in the map of the survey is there any mention of private rights in this district.[1]

With the exception, then, of the Beissenteufels and the Rousselets in the third quarter of the century, the Moruca had, in the eighteenth century, no European inhabitants outside the post. By the time of the renewed Dutch occupation of 1802–3 it is very possible that the coast lands as far as the Moruca had been taken up; for there was then under discussion the granting of lands to the west of that river.[2]

As early as 1755 we begin to hear of Spanish threats against the Dutch post on the Moruca. It is, however, only the threat of a missionary father to come and carry off by force certain Indians dwelling under its protection.[3] In 1760 the Spaniards, elated by their successful raid of 1758 on the post in the Cuyuni, threatened to come ere long and treat the Moruca post in the same fashion; and the Essequibo governor found it wise to reenforce the post with four soldiers.[4] In 1768 threats of a raid on the post were ascribed to the Dutch deserters who were aiding the Spaniards in their purging of the district east of the Orinoco.[5] But it was not until 1769 that the post was actually visited. In February of that year there came into the Moruca and to the post an armed Spanish vessel bearing a dozen soldiers and two Capuchin fathers and escorted

[1] Extracts, pp. 614, 638. It is true that a bid is said to have been made for it (Blue Book, p. 180); but it is implied that it was for the sake of the cattle alone, and the land, if abandoned, would revert to the colony.

[2] Extracts, p. 660.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 105.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 115.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 154, 157.

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by a party of Spanish Indians in canoes. The post made no resistance; but the Spaniards sought neither to capture nor to occupy it. What they were after was Indians for the missions; and of these they carried off such as they could find,[1] and with them peopled a new mission at Puedpa beyond the Yuruari. The Capuchins, who were in charge of the expedition, even gave to the postholder a certificate that this was their errand, averring that by order of their ecclesiastical superior and with the permission of the Spanish commandant of the Orinoco they had "passed into Moruca in search of the Indians belonging to the missions of the Capuchin fathers."[2] But, if the visit of the Spaniards left behind no other result, it seriously impaired the efficiency of the post by depleting the number of Indians; so, at least, complained the Essequibo governor in 1772.[3] In 1774 the Spaniards, to the number of forty, made another descent upon the post, carrying off or killing the free Indians;[4] and a year later, in October, 1775, there was a yet more serious raid, when with fifty men the Spanish captain, Mateo, approaching by the inland passage and leaving his two ships in the river Biara, came through the Itabo, and was so thorough in his kidnapping of the natives that the postholder complained that "there is no longer an Indian to be found in these parts." In reply to the postholder's protest, the Spaniard not only affirmed that Moruca belonged to the Spaniards, but that his royal master would shortly set a guard in the Barimani, at the Wainí entrance to the inland passage. Yet it does not appear that the post was actually taken into possession, much less retained,

[1] It appears from the report of the prefect, September 12, 1770, that these Indians thus "brought from Moruca numbered in all one hundred and seventy." (Venezuelan "Documents," ii, p. 267.)

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 160–163, 281–288; Venezuelan "Documents," ii, pp. 109, 187–208, 266, 267.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 179.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 186.

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or that any guard was ever actually stationed in the passage. In 1786 the Spaniards were again in the Pomeroon for the abduction of Indians, and yet again in 1794;[1] but, as the Moruca post was now at the seacoast, and as the Spaniards doubtless made their way into the Pomeroon by the Wacupo passage, one hears nothing of them in the Moruca.

The elaborate reconnoissance, not only of that river but of the Pomeroon, in 1779, by the Spanish officer, Inciarte, was attended by no breach of the peace; and his report in favor of Spanish establishments on both these rivers, though it resulted in a royal order for the erection of a Spanish village and fort in the Moruca at the site of the Dutch post, seems to have led to no practical results.[2] Whatever claims to the river might be made by the Spaniards, I can not learn that the Dutch were ever actually disturbed in the possession of their post. There was, indeed, as we learn from sources other than Dutch, an unsuccessful Spanish attack on the post in 1797, while the colony was in the hands of the English; but this was in time of war.

In brief, then:

1. The Moruca was first occupied by the Dutch at their occupation of the Pomeroon, in 1658.

2. It was settled and held by them during the existence of the two Pomeroon colonies (1658–1665, 1686–1689).

3. Thereafter, though clearly regarded as a possession, it was not again actually occupied till the transfer of the Wacupo post to its banks, in or soon after 1726.

[1] Extracts, pp. 591, 632–637. It is to be noticed that in 1790 the commissioners reporting on the state of the colony speak of the coming of Spanish boats to the Moruca for the abduction of Indians as though it were an habitual occurrence. (Extracts, p. 601.)

[2] See the documents in Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, pp. 87–96. Nothing of all this is known to the Dutch records except the presence of the Spanish party in Pomeroon and Moruca. (Extracts, pp. 561, 562.) Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 305–314.

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4. Thenceforward it was never abandoned, but was held with growing tenacity.

5. From the seventeenth century until the very end of the eighteenth it had no settlers, save for a single plantation during a few years; but before its final loss to the Dutch its lands may have been once more coming into occupancy.

6. Though more than once visited by bodies of armed Spaniards, who forcibly abducted the Indians settled about it, no Spanish attempt to take it into possession is known to Dutch records.

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5. THE DUTCH IN THE WAINI.

For 100 miles or so west of the Moruca no river enters the sea. The river Waini, however, which there at last breaks through to the beach, runs for half its course nearly parallel to the coast, and at the point where, coming from the south, it sweeps around to this northwestward course is but a score of miles from the Moruca, with which, as we have seen, it is connected by a passage navigable at high water.[1]

West of the Moruca there was never a Dutch post, nor ever a Dutch grant of colonial land.[2] Such occupation as can be shown for the Waini is, therefore, of a somewhat nondescript character.

Prior to the eighteenth century scarcely a mention of the river is found in the Dutch records. For the earliest period this is adequately explained, perhaps, by the fact that the Waini, unlike the rivers to the east of it, was the home, not of the mild Arawak, but of the Carib. But when in the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Dutch had entered into regular commercial relations with the Caribs of the Barima, and

[1] It has been suggested that the mouth of the Waini was formerly much farther eastward, and that this earlier mouth was perhaps silted up at a very recent period. I have found in the Dutch records nothing to confirm this theory. By 1703, at latest, the mouth of the river must have been where it now is, since the Mora passage is then spoken of as "in the river Waini" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71); and this is confirmed beyond question by a journal of 1711 (Extracts, pp. 225, 227).

[2] As to the often alleged post on the Barima, see pp. 291, 292, below. That land was granted west of the Moruca has never been claimed. The passage of January 6, 1772 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 179), which seems to imply this is (as I have pointed out, p. 243, above) wrongly translated.

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must have carried on by way of the Waini both that trade and the trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco, it is somewhat puzzling that the name of the Waini does not oftener appear.

The earliest mention I find of it in Dutch records is in connection with the advent of those hostile Caribs, driven out by the Dutch of Surinam, whose coming seems for long to have interrupted Dutch trade beyond the Moruca. "These Coppenam Caribs," wrote the Essequibo governor in 1685,[1] "are taking refuge just to leeward of us, about Barima, Waini, Amacura." The name of the river does not appear again until, in the year 1700,[2] the governor reports the sending of the colony's bark to Waini "in order to salt fish and to trade for victuals." The destination is not spoken of as a new or unusual one; but that the natives were found still unfriendly may, perhaps, be inferred from the fact that the bark returned six weeks later "without having done any trading." A year later, in November, 1701,[3] it was even found necessary to send thither a reconnoissance in force to look into the designs of the French and to threaten the Caribs of the Waini with the vengeance of the combined Christians and Arawaks of all the Dutch colonies if they should support the enemy.

Yet by 1703 the Dutch of Essequibo were so much at home there that they could lie in wait in the Mora passage and arrest escaping deserters.[4] In 1711 a Surinam expedition to the Orinoco by the inland route passed and repassed the Waini without hindrance.[5] They seem to have found there, however, no shelter or Indian landing. By 1717 the Surinam traders were carrying on traffic in that river.[6]

In 1722 the Waini was so far looked upon as a possession by the Dutch of Essequibo that the engineer Maurain-

[1] Extracts, p. 173.
[2] Extracts, p. 197.
[3] Extracts, pp. 201–203.
[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71.
[5] Extracts, pp. 225, 227.
[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 76.

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Saincterre could recommend the establishment of plantations there;[1] and when, in 1734, Governor Gelskerke intimated a Dutch claim to territory "between the Orinoco and this colony,"[2] it is probable that lands west of the Moruca post, rather than east of it, were in his thought. Dutch deserters were again arrested in the Waini in 1738,[3] and fugitive slaves were run down for the Dutch by the Indians of Waini in 1743.[4] In 1746 Governor Storm van 's Gravesande even wrote of "the Caribs subject to us in the river Waini," and took measures for their protection.[5] In sending the Moruca postholder thither to reconnoiter, he instructed him "not to set foot on Spanish territory—not even below the river Waini." In the reply approving his action and urging vigilance in maintaining the Company's territory, the West India Company discreetly spoke of the region in question as "the Wacupo and Moruca,"[6] and in again mentioning the matter the governor adopts this phrase;[7] but the Waini must have been implied.[8]

In 1749, however, when the colonist Von Rosen sought to induce the King of Sweden to take possession between Essequibo and Orinoco,[9] he represented the Waini, as well as the Barima, as lying uninhabited and wild. In 1755, when, with another colonist, he addressed himself to the King of Prussia, after having in 1754 made a trip of inspection to these rivers,

[1] Extracts, p. 248.
[2] Extracts, p. 262.
[3] Extracts, p. 280.
[4] Extracts, p. 302.
[5] Extracts, p. 305.
[6] Extracts, p. 307.
[7] Extracts, p. 309.
[8] Little significance can be attached to the fact that in 1751 the Moruca postholder was by the colonial Court of Policy sent to arrest two Indian slaves "in a branch called Waini" (Blue Book, p. 94), because, although the upper Waini, whose head waters lie close to those of the Pomeroon, was very possibly the stream in question, the stream was looked on by the Court as a branch of the Pomeroon.
[9] Extracts, p. 325.

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he no longer used this phrase.[1] In the interval steps had, indeed, been taken by the Dutch of Essequibo to put the Waini to use. In 1753, owing to the growing scarcity of land for plantations, the governor had measurements made in the Waini as well as in the Pomeroon.[2] In April, 1754, the Court of Policy granted two colonists a permit to cut timber in the Waini, subject to the payment of stipulated fees to the West India Company,[3] and in June of the same year another colonist received the same privilege.[4]

Such, in fact, was Governor Storm van 's Gravesande's conviction of Dutch ownership of the Waini, that in September, 1754, he clearly thought it adequate proof of claim to certain alleged silver mines between Essequibo and Orinoco, that they lay "even south of the Waini;"[5] and when, in the following month, coast-guard boats were fitted out to patrol the coast in view of an expected Spanish invasion from the Orinoco, they were to cruise "as far as the river Waini."[6]

In 1756 the Court of Policy was asked by still another colonist for permission to cut timber in the Waini, as well as in the Pomeroon; and this "for the space of six, eight, or more consecutive years."[7] The governor this time opposed the petition, though only as regards the Pomeroon,[8] and the request was referred to the West India Company. In reply to the questions of the latter, the governor in 1758 explained the situation.[9] The concession in 1754 to cut timber in the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147.
[2] Extracts, p. 340.
[3] Extracts, p. 343.
[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 98.
[5] Extracts, p. 347.
[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 101.
[7] Extracts, p. 367; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 107, 108.
[8] Extracts, pp. 371, 374; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 108.
[9] Extracts, pp. 375–377.

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Pomeroon had been withdrawn, he said, "and it was resolved to grant none further; but the making of timber in the river Waini was left free to those who should apply for it." "Of this," he adds, however, "no use was made, neither could it be made, for, on account of the sand banks lying before it, that river, where, it is true, an infinite number of bourewey trees are found, is unnavigable for all craft larger than our buoy-canoes." That the Company ever acted on the petition does not appear; and of actual timber-cutting in the Waini there is at no time any record.[1]

When in 1758 the raid of the Spaniards upon the Dutch post in the Cuyuni led the West India Company to inquire of the Essequibo authorities with care as to their title to that river, the governor in his reply urged that the Cuyuni's situation "so far on this side of Waini (which people claim to be the boundary, although I think it must be extended as far as Barima)" left no question as to its ownership.[2] The Company's answering missive, while asking the grounds of his claim to the Barima and of his "inference that, Cuyuni being situate on this side of Waini, it must therefore necessarily belong to the colony"—since, so far as they knew, there existed no conventions prescribing "that the boundary lines in South America run in a straight line from the seacoast inland"—raises no objection to his claim regarding the Waini.[3]

Similarly, in 1761, when the Spaniards seized some Dutch fishing boats near the mouth of the Waini, the colonial secretary, Spoors, protested to the Company that, whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the limits, "the river Waini indisputably belongs to the Company."[4] And the Company, though again demanding from the governor, who had again

[1] Yet cf. p. 223, above.
[2] Extracts, p. 386.
[3] Extracts, p. 390.
[4] Extracts, p. 393.

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claimed the Barima as frontier, his reasons for this opinion,[1] left unquestioned the secretary's claim to the Waini.

In May of this year (1761), Governor Storm van 's Gravesande sent a patrol of soldiers into the Waini in search of a party of deserters.[2] In 1762, when he drew up with his own hand the first directory of the colony, the Waini was the westernmost of the streams named by him as comprised wholly within the colony.[3]

In August, 1762, a fresh seizure by the Spaniards of a fishing boat in the mouth of the Waini led to a fresh assertion by the governor that the river Waini was "indisputably the territory of the Company;"[4] and the Company, while not echoing this claim in terms, applauded the governor's zeal.[5] Before learning of this fresh aggression they had asked from the governor of Demerara a map which should accurately locate the mouths of all the rivers between the Essequibo and the Orinoco.[6]

It is strange, then, to find Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, in his letter of protest to the governor of Trinidad about the seizure of the fishing boats, declaring in the same breath that passports are given only to "boats which go from one country or from one colony to another," and yet that the two boats seized at the mouth of the Waini "were both provided with passports in due form."[7] These passports were perhaps only such as were given to all who went beyond the posts; and the remonstrance just at this time addressed by the Essequibo governor to the governor of Surinam against mentioning in

[1] Extracts, pp. 391, 392.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119.
[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 120.
[5] Extracts, p. 397.
[6] Extracts, p. 395.
[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 123.

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such passes the name of the Barima, lest umbrage be given to the Spaniards, suggests by its silence that no such umbrage was caused by the name of the Waini.[1]

In 1763, describing to the Company the trading posts of the colony, the governor wrote that under the charge of that of Moruca are "the rivers of Pomeroon and Waini,"[2] and that the Indians of these rivers, "whose help is always needful for salters and traders, whether the Company's or private,"[3] "have always to be kept under a sort of control."[4] Evidence of this control was the dispatch at just this time of a body of Waini Caribs to aid in quelling the slave insurrection in Berbice.[5] A year later, in enumerating to the Company the more fertile lands of the colony, the governor names those of the Waini along with those of Mazaruni, Cuyuni, Pomeroon, Wacupo, and Moruca.[6]

It is in this year (1764) that one first finds an explicit claim to the Waini by a division of the West India Company itself. The Zeeland shareholders, in a memorial to the States-General defending their management of the Essequibo colony, describe the colony as "crossed not only by the chief river, the Essequibo, but also by several small rivers, such as Barima, Waini, Moruca, Pomeroon, and Demerara."[7] But, alas, the West India Company was at strife within itself, and a counter memorial, submitted in 1767 by "the Representative of the Stadhouder and the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber" (whose rival claim to the colony on behalf of the Company

[1] Extracts, p. 403.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

[3] "*Nodig voor alle de soo Comp. als particuliere souters en handelaers.*" An interesting anecdote of a trading expedition into Waini may be found on p. 139 of Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3."

[4] *Ook altoos onder een soort van gezag.*"

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 131.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 133.

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as a whole at last carried the day with the States-General) scouted such claims that these adjoining rivers were a part of the colony of Essequibo.[1] It is even urged by these hostile critics that the Zeeland Chamber is not at harmony with itself as to the limits.[2]

The claim to the Waini implied in the larger claim to the Barima, and the action of Dutch and of Spanish authorities occasioned by the sojourn, in 1766–68, of Dutchmen in the latter river, may best be discussed in connection with the Barima. In 1768 a Spanish attempt to seize yet another fishing boat off the mouth of the Waini led the governor to reiterate to the Company that the river Waini was "indisputably the Company's territory;"[3] and this time his words had a sequel. In the formal remonstrance, addressed in 1769, at the instance of the West India Company, by the States-General to the Spanish court, a definite claim was made as to the boundary on the Guiana coast. The territory of the Netherlands, according to this document, stretched "from the river Marowyn to beyond the river Waini."

So far as appears in the diplomatic correspondence of the Netherlands, no answer to this claim was ever made by Spain. Spanish aggressions, however, did not cease. In 1775 a Spanish expedition came by way of the Waini to the Moruca post itself, and its leader declared to the postholder that a Spanish guard would shortly be set at the junction of the Waini and the Barimani—the beginning of the water passage to the Moruca. The postholder, in reply, claimed that not only Waini but Barima belonged to the Dutch; but this, said the postholder in his report of the altercation, the Spanish captain

[1] Extracts, pp. 428–436.
[2] Extracts, pp. 430, 433.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 156.

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denied.[1] It is unlikely, in view of the silence not only of the Dutch records but of the Spanish officer (Inciarte) who four years later led another Spanish party by this route even into the Pomeroon, that the Spanish threat of a guard in the Waini was carried out. But from this time forward the river Waini is scarcely named again in the papers of the Dutch colony. When, in 1794, the Governor-General visited the post of Moruca he learned of the Waini only as one of the streams on the route of the Spanish lanchas which came to trade in Essequibo.[2] Of the nugatory scheme of the Dutch Council of the Colonies for the definition of the Guiana boundary at the Congress of Amiens in 1802, fixing it at the Barima or the Orinoco, I must speak in another connection. The Waini was unmentioned, save for the statement of the Council's envoy that the Spaniards, in their ignorance of it, thought it a mere creek.[3] It was this same envoy, Ruysch, who, in a projected charter for the colony, submitted to the Council in 1803, proposed the granting to colonists of timber rights in Waini and Barima, as well as in Pomeroon.[4] The charter was never adopted. Petitions were, however, now coming in for lands beyond Moruca; and the Council seems to have laid these before the Governor-General for his advice as to the extension of cultivation to the region between Moruca and Waini,[5] but had not yet received his reply, when in the autumn of 1803 a fresh seizure of the Guiana colonies by the British took them forever from Dutch control.

In summary, then:

1. Settlement in the Waini there was none at any time.

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190. For earlier and later Spanish raids, which must have made the Waini a part of their route, see above, pp. 244–246.

[2] Extracts, p. 616.

[3] Extracts, p. 647.

[4] Extracts, p. 659.

[5] Extracts, pp. 659–662.

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2. Save for commerce and for the fishery at the river's mouth, the Waini seems never to have been actually put to use by the Dutch.

3. Permission to cut timber there was, however, repeatedly and formally granted by the Essequibo Court of Policy in the name of the West India Company; though, owing to the river's unnavigable entrance, this permission remained unused.

4. The Dutch claim to the ownership of the Waini was officially enounced to Spain in the remonstrance of 1769, and was (however forgotten in the interval) still a basis of action for the Dutch colonial authorities in the period immediately preceding the final loss of the colony.

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6. THE DUTCH IN THE BARIMA.

As the center and seat of the Caribs of this region, and as the door to the inland passage connecting the Orinoco with the rivers to the east, the Barima[1] seems early to have had commercial importance and to have been frequented by all the European nations trading in these parts. According to Raleigh (1596),[2] who is followed by the Dutch historian of the West Indies (writing in 1624), the Spaniards then carried on a regular traffic to and through the Barima, "buying women and children from the Caribs and selling them at great profit in Margarita."[3]

[1]Spelled also, in early maps and documents, in sundry other ways, as Balima, Balime, Barema, Brema, Burima, Parima, Paryma, Parymo, Poraema, and, in the earlier Dutch records, often Barina. These must not be confused with the earlier spellings of the name of the Pomeroon. This latter name usually appears in the 17th century under such forms as Baroma, Baruma, Bouroma (see note, p. 214, above), the form Pomeroon being scarcely a century old. What alone always distinguishes the names is the accented vowel, which, in the name of the Barima, varies from *i* to *e* or *y*, but never to *o* or *u*; while in that of the Pomeroon it is always *o* or *u*, or some equivalent of these. Much confusion has arisen from their resemblance. Thus the passage of Fray Pedro Simon (*Noticias Historiales*, p. 664) about the expedition from the Orinoco, in 1619, of the Spanish Captain Geronimo de Grados, into "the river Baruma, which is the first in those provinces where the Arawak Nation dwells," has been taken to mean the Barima. But there are reasons quite apart from this spelling of the name why the Pomeroon must be meant. Though Arawaks, like Raleigh's pilot, lived scattered among the Warrows of the coast to the west of the Pomeroon, yet, according to all the early narrators, this region was mainly Carib; and they agree (e. g., Keymis, Harcourt, De Laet—and cf. Major John Scott, Extracts, p. 136) in making the Pomeroon, or its little neighbor, the Moruca, the first occupied by the Arawaks. Moreover, this expedition "for the chastisement of the Arawaks" is called by Fray Simon himself "an assault on the Essequibo and the Berbice, the principal dwelling-place of the Arawaks;" and it was only as a prelude to his attack on these rivers that the Spanish captain entered the "Baruma" at all.

[2]*Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Schomburgk, p. 39.

[3]Jan de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1625, p. 480; ed. of 1630, p. 583

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In 1598 the first Dutch ships which explored this coast, on reaching the Barima, entered that river and traded with the natives.[1] When, in 1637, the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, in league, it is said, with the Caribs, went up the Orinoco and sacked Santo Thomé,[2] they very probably came through this way.

But it is the French of the Caribbean islands who seem to have been, in the seventeenth century, the especial patrons and allies of the Caribs of the Barima. Father Pelleprat, the Jesuit missionary, tells us that they had invited the French to plant a colony there, and that in March, 1654, he was informed by Indians of that river "that they had already built a fort in which the French could be quartered as soon as they should arrive."[3] And no sooner do we have reports from the Dutch colony of Essequibo than we find in them complaints of French rivalry in this region.[4] It was, as will be seen, a rivalry not without results to the Dutch. In 1684, when the French of these neighboring West India Islands raided the Orinoco and occupied Santo Thomé, the Caribs in the Barima showed their loyalty by murdering the crew and scuttling the ship of a Dutchman from Surinam, who had come thither for trade; and already they threatened to come with the French and lay waste the Dutch colony of Essequibo.[5] The threat was no vain one, for in 1689 the French, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, made their way in canoes from that river through the Moruca passage and utterly destroyed the new Dutch colony on the Pomeroon; then, returning to the Barima, fortified

[1] Extracts, p. 17.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 212–217.

[3] As already pointed out by Professor Jameson. See p. 68 of this volume.

[4] Letters of the Essequibo Commandeur, January 8, 1683; March 31, 1684; January 15, 1685; June 7, 1686. (Extracts, pp. 156, 160, 172, 182, 188, 190.)

[5] Extracts, pp. 163, 164. These Caribs, it is true, are alleged to have come from the Coppenam, whence they had been driven out by the Dutch of Surinam; but, as they remained in the Barima, they must thenceforward be reckoned to the Barima Caribs.

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themselves in that river.[1] In 1695, aided by the Caribs of the Barima, they were even stationed in the mouth of the Pomeroon.[2]

As for the Dutch themselves, that firm friendship with the Caribs which in the eighteenth century made both so formidable to their Spanish neighbors seems as yet only slowly growing up. Again and again these savages had annihilated Dutch colonies on the Guiana coast.[3] Those of Berbice and Essequibo, which survived, were in a region peopled mainly by Arawaks; and when the letters of the Essequibo commandeurs (preserved from 1679 onward) first give us light upon the inner history of that colony, we find it still in terror of the Caribs.[4] Already in 1673, however, the energetic Hendrik Rol, then Commandeur in Essequibo, was trafficking with the Caribs of the Barima, and had opened a trade with the Spaniards of the Orinoco which could hardly be carried on without Carib connivance.[5] It was perhaps to this illicit trade with the Spanish colony on the Orinoco, to which the new West India Company had from the first been stirring up the Essequibo governors,[6] but

[1] Letter of the Pomeroon Commandeur, July 6, 1689 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 66), and of the Essequibo Commandeur, January 7, October 12, 1689. Extracts, pp. 188, 190.

[2] Letter of the Essequibo Commandeur, June 24, 1695. Extracts, p. 195. As to the English in the Barima I find no explicit evidence, but the phrase of Commandeur Beekman in his letter of January 7, 1689, seems to imply that they were no strangers there, and in 1673 they were cruising in the Amacura, close by. (See p. 294 below.)

[3] According to Major John Scott, it was they who destroyed a Zeeland colony of 1615 on the Cayenne; they murdered the Dutchmen from the Amazon who had taken refuge in the Wiapoco in 1625 (Jan de Laet, *Historie*, pp. 112, 113); and they are believed to have caused the ruin of the ambitious colonies sent to those rivers in 1627. (Cf. Netscher, p. 56.)

[4] Letter of Essequibo Commandeur, October 20, 1679—the earliest preserved. (Extracts, p. 145.)

[5] Extracts, p. 140.

[6] Letters of the Zeeland Chamber, February 22, 1675; November 30, 1675; November 6, 1677; December 30, 1678; February 24, 1680; May 22, 1681; September 29, 1681; June 18, 1682. (Extracts, pp. 141–144, 147, 150, 153, 154.) This trade was, of course, in direct contravention of the Treaty of Münster.

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which seems not fully under way until 1679, that the Dutch of Essequibo owed their earliest relations with the Barima.[1]

[1] For Mr. Rodway's statement (*Hist.*, p. 168) that "about the middle of the seventeenth century there was a Dutch outpost at the mouth of the Barima, where a slave market of the Caribs was held," I can find nowhere the slightest warrant. The slave market is probable enough, but not under Dutch auspices. The river was, for that matter, always such a slave mart. The error as to a Dutch outpost comes, I suspect, from some misunderstanding of *Baruma* or *Baroma* (Pomeroon) for Barima, such as I have pointed out in a note above. The mention in Mr. Rodway's unfinished earlier work (*Annals of Guiana*, i, p. 187), in connection with the Pomeroon colony of 1658–1665, of "its outposts at Barima Point" is almost certainly such a confusion, a mistaken inference from Major John Scott's mention of *Bowroome* (i. e., Pomeroon).

Even more certainly due to this source of error are the statements of Mr. Schomburgk (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," pp. 22, 25, 26): "It is affirmed that it [the alleged post on the Barima] was in existence when the English, under Major John Scott, destroyed the Fort New Zealand and plundered New Middelburg, and there are still documents of the Dutch West India Company in existence, by which the directors desired the commandant of Pomeroon to keep the fortified post of the Barima in repair." Major John Scott reports, indeed, his capture of Bowroome, or Baroma (Extracts, p. 135, and *Calendar of State Papers*, as there cited); but this is the Pomeroon. Of the Barima he says nothing of the sort—spelling the name of that river, when he has occasion to mention it, "Parema" or "Poraema" (Extracts, p. 136). And, in the documents of the West India Company, the engineer Goliat, acting as commandant in the Pomeroon, is indeed charged with the laying out of fortifications in "Boumeronne;" but this again means the Pomeroon. (Extracts, pp. 127, 128; and cf. pp. 196, 215, above.) I have read with much care all the extant records of the Dutch West India Company relating to this period and have found in them no mention of the Barima. And General Netscher, who has searched the same records, has been able to find no more than I. Nor does Major John Scott, whether in his report to the British Government or in his manuscript chapter on Guiana, know of any Barima outpost; nor yet the contemporary French narrators, Barbot (agent-general of the French Royal Company of Africa and the Islands of America—his relation is to be found in Churchill's Voyages, v, pp. 548–570) and Clodoré (an officer of the French fleet on these coasts—his *Relation* was published in two volumes at Paris in 1671).

Mr. Schomburgk's error is shared, in part at least, by his friend Alexander von Humboldt, whom he quotes (p. 22) to the same effect: "They [the Dutch] had even taken military possession of the eastern bank of the small Rio Barima before the English (in 1666) had destroyed the forts of New Zeeland and New Middelburgh on the right bank of Pomeroon." But that great naturalist was, alas, a careless historian, and there is no reason to suspect him here of independent knowledge.

But Mr. Schomburgk has another statement as to the Barima which is more startling and which even more certainly must point to a confusion with the Pomeroon. In his letter of June 22 1841, to the governor of British Guiana he avers, not only that "the Dutch, when in possession of these colonies, were in actual occupation of

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The route of this trade through the inland passage to the Orinoco *via* the Moruca, the Waini, the Barima, threaded only the lower course of these rivers, and lay mainly in the region occupied by the Warrows of the coast; but it could hardly fail to give a glimpse of the wealth of the forests and to open a door to traffic with their inhabitants. That this Carib traffic was not yet in Dutch hands is clear from Commandeur Beekman's letter of January, 1683, which cautions the Company that the Indians must not be repelled by too shrewd bargaining, since when offered trash for their wares they only meet you with the tart answer that they can swap for plenty of such things in Barima and elsewhere—"and there is some truth in this," he adds, "on account of the traffic which the French from the islands carry on there."[1] But, before the end of this same year, on Christmas day of 1683, Commandeur Beekman sent to the Company another message about Barima. "In Barima," he writes, "I have had

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the mouth of the Barima," but that "some merchants of Middleburg, subjects of the States-General, had a colony in that river." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 194; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 3.) The earlier memorial by himself from which he professes to quote this claim has not been given in full to the public; and, in the part of it which has been printed (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," 183, 184), no such passage is to be found. As Mr. Schomburgk wrote from his camp in the wilderness, and could hardly have had at hand the means for verifying his statements, it will be perhaps kindliest to suppose that his memory was here at fault.

The statement of General Netscher (in an article in the *Tijdspiegel* for March, 1896) that in 1679 Commandeur Beckman proposed to the West India Company to occupy the Barima *anew*, and that this was declined by the Zeeland Chamber in a letter of February 24, 1680, on the ground that the Orinoco was too far off for trade, is also a mistake, as I am able to state on the authority of that able and generous scholar himself, who made with me a joint examination of these records and who fully concurs in the results I have reached. The error arose from a misreading of certain old notes taken by him nearly a decade earlier for his history of the Guiana colonies, and is, indeed, in conflict with the text of his history itself, where nothing of this sort will be found.

[1] Extracts, p. 156. From a comparison of this passage with p. 140 it would seem that the one thing as yet sought in this region by the Dutch of Essequibo was the carap oil needed in the preparation of their dyes.

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one of the Company's employés take up his abode, since there is much annatto and letter-wood there, and it is close by Pomeroon, and some two or three times lately it has been traded in by Gabriel Biscop and exploited with great success, much to the prejudice of the Company. I hope this will meet your approval. That trade, both there and in Pomeroon, I have forbidden to him, and to all others as well. I wish the Company would take that river also into its possession, as I have provisionally done in order to see what revenues it will yield, since I am of opinion that the Company can do as good a trade there in an open river as can private individuals."[1]

This passage, the earliest connecting the Dutch with the Barima, deserves careful study. But there is in the following letter of the Essequibo Commandeur one which should be studied with it. Writing again to the Company on March 31, 1684, before there had been time for an answer from Europe to his letter of Christmas day, Commandeur Beekman reports:

Pomeroon begins to furnish annually much and good annatto, and much was brought from Barima, as appears from the inclosed list, under No. 7, from which you will see how much has been got by barter here at the fort as well as by all the outliers; but Gabriel Biscop and other sea-rovers from Surinam not only spoil that trade, but buy up all the letter-wood, which is there fairly abundant and good, and also all the carap oil and hammocks, so that this year I have got only a very few, and they old and wretched. They traverse and scour the land even into the river Cuyuni. In order somewhat to check this, I have had a small shelter made in Barima; and Abraham Boudardt, who is stationed there[2] as outlier in place of Daniel Galle, who is going home, shall

[1] Extracts, pp. 158, 159. To my no small chagrin, despite very great pains with the proofs, a phrase (happily, not an important one) has here been omitted in the printing. Between the words "*van Gabriel Biscop bevaren en met*" and the words "*groote prejuditie*" should stand the words "*groot succes afgehaeldt, tot*"—as required by the translation opposite.

[2] He was the outlier in Pomeroon. At first glance this "there" seems to refer to the Barima, and it is of course possible that Galle (and then Boudardt) was the

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sometimes visit that place and stir up the Caribs to the trade in annatto and letter-wood—which even the French from the islands frequently come with their vessels and get. It would therefore, if I may suggest, not be amiss that the West India Company, in order to get the aforesaid trade, should take that river Barima into possession, and should establish there a permanent outliership.[1]

At these passages, on which much of assertion has been based, let us look with care. The Essequibo commandeur here reports three acts of his own. Late in 1683—doubtless at the beginning of the dry season, when the dye was collected from the Indians—he had caused an employé to sojourn on the Barima to traffic with the Indians for annatto and letter-wood and perhaps to warn off other traders. That the sojourn was but temporary, and was meant to be so, is clear from a second thing done by the commandeur. By the end of March—the dry season now drawing to a close—he had had built on the Barima a shelter, a structure meant not for residence, but for an occasional visit from the Pomeroon outlier,

"employé" mentioned in the December letter as left on that river; but we know that in July, 1684, Boudardt was the Pomeroon outlier (see Extracts, pp. 162, 164). It is not improbable that "there" is vaguely used for the whole region to which both the Pomeroon and the Barima belong—meaning, that is, "in that quarter." Phrases as ambiguous are not rare in these rambling epistles of Abraham Beekman. The phrase "*die plaetse*" in the following lino can possibly mean "*those places*" (as translated by the Blue Book), since the *n* of the plural is in these documents often omitted; but its natural and regular meaning is "*that place*," and this reading alone makes sense here.

[1] That this translation differs in points by no means unimportant from that given in the British Blue Book I am well aware, and can only ask that both be compared with the original Dutch. To the British translation of *uitlegger*, "outlier," by "postholder," I have no objection, save that this latter word seems to carry with it implication of a fixedness and stability such as, I fear, had not yet become the uniform quality of an outlier. The translation, "strong little place for a postholder," given by the Blue Book for the final phrase of the passage, is an impossible rendering, as I was assured by all in Holland to whom I submitted the passage. What is meant is not a building, but a function. See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 59 (No. 11); Extracts, pp. 159, 160.

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who was thus to keep the Caribs stirred up to the dye trade.[1]

A third act reported by the commandeur is of graver significance. He had forbidden to Gabriel Biscop, "and to all others as well," the annatto and letter-wood trade in the Barima and the Pomeroon. He had, that is to say, taken the Barima, like the Pomeroon, into the possession of the West India Company, but only provisionally, so as to learn its revenues and while awaiting the approval of the Company; and that he hardly expected his prohibition to be effective he implies by adding his opinion that even in an open river the Company can do as good a trade as other people.[2]

Authority either to claim or to maintain such possession he

[1] As to what sort of a shelter (*pleisterhuisje*, literally "little rest-house") this probably was, we need not be in doubt. Adriaan van Berkel, writing of these Guiana colonies only a few years before (1672), gives us a vivid description of one (p. 16). He is speaking of a trip down the Berbice. "This night for the first time I slept on land, in the forest, with my hammock made fast to two trees. Just before I was ready to go to rest our slaves had built for me a *pleisterhuisje*—so called by both Christians and Indians—at the place where the hammock was to be stretched. There are four posts, the front ones somewhat higher than the rear ones, covered over with a roof of leaves, leaves uncommonly large, being usually 4 or 5 feet long and some 2 feet broad. Neither sun nor rain can here vex one, for the leaves lie so close upon each other that not even the rays of that great luminary can penetrate. Such *pleisterhuisjes* one sees along the entire river; and one has them built in a moment wherever one will, for an Indian is like the turtle—everywhere at home." And, for that matter, one meets them constantly in the records. (See, for example, the journals of the Surinam expedition of 1714 and of Hildebrandt, the mining engineer—Extracts, pp. 224–228, 285–301.) Such one must have wherever one stayed over night. It is possibly worth noting that, while *pleisterhuisje* means a "little shelter," this on the Barima was only a "*small* pleisterhuisje;" yet it is quite as likely that the commandeur was only belittling the importance of his own action. On the other hand, when proposing a *dwelling* for a postholder he calls it a *huysken*, a hut. (See his letter of October 20, 1679, Extracts, p. 145.)

[2] If the Blue Book's translation of this clause be correct, "that the Honourable Compauy *has the right* to trade and traffic there in an open river as much as other private persons," it is a much stronger argument for Beekman's belief that the river is not yet the property of the Company; but I can not believe this translation admissible.

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confessedly had none. He can but "hope" the approval of his course by the West India Company and add to the report of his own acts certain suggestions for the Company's action: at Christmas he "wishes" that "the Company would take that river also into its possession," and in March he suggests that "it would not be amiss[1] for the West India Company . . . to take the river Barima into its possession and to establish there a permanent outliership." Before basing any conclusions upon this action it is, then, of the highest importance to know what the Company replied. Yet, before passing to that, it will be well to glance a little more fully at the circumstances of the case.

The West India Company now in question was the new Company created by the wholly new charter of 1674. The charter of the old Company, in 1621, had granted it monopoly of trade, and therewith the right to plant colonies in uninhabited districts, to erect fortresses, to exercise territorial authority, within vast limits—the entire coast of America, not to mention those of West Africa and of the Southern Sea. But the new charter of 1674 knows nothing of such vast limits; of the whole continent of America it grants only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," and there is no longer any mention of the colonizing of uninhabited districts. Nor are Essequibo and Pomeroon in any wise defined, directly or by implication, otherwise than by their names.[2] Even the

[1] Etymologically the word "*onbillijk*," here translated "amiss," means indeed "inequitable," as it is translated by the Blue Book, but this was not its current sense, and the context does not suggest that meaning here. "It would not be a bad idea" is perhaps the best equivalent, there being as little notion of want of equity in *onbillijk* as of moral turpitude in "bad idea."

[2] The statement of Mr. Schomburgk (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 235; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," p. 25) that "the latter" (Pomeroon) "extended to the mouth of the Orinoco" is, so far as my research can determine, unwarranted by anything in the earlier history or in the discussions at the time.

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Pomeroon was not occupied by the new Company until in 1679, when Beekman, the Essequibo commandeur, suggested that "it would not be a bad idea to build there a hut for two or three men, so that they may dwell permanently among the Indians and occupy that river."[1] The Indians would thus, he urged, be stimulated to the annatto trade. This was, as I have already elsewhere suggested,[2] in all probability the beginning of that system of trade outposts of which we hear so much in all the later history of the colony; and it was very probably the success of this suggestion which now led this same Beekman in 1683–84 to urge the similar occupation of the Barima. But the grounds of this later suggestion are not quite the same: he had urged them to "occupy" the Pomeroon,—he urges them to "take into possession" the Barima The Pomeroon was to be occupied, in order that, by the presence of buyers, the Indians might be stimulated to furnish more annatto; the Barima, "in order to get the trade" which else would go to the French and Surinam traders. It is clear, then, that in the eyes of Commandeur Beekman, the Barima is not yet an actual possession of the Company. Yet it can not be questioned that his prohibition of trade there is a distinct assertion of claim, as his statement that such trade is "to the prejudice of the Company" is the distinct assumption of a right—the claim and right, not of Holland in general, but of the Dutch West India Company, since else the Dutchman Gabriel Biscop could not have been warned off, or spoken of as though as much an intruder as the French.

After all, these were but the provisional acts of a subordinate. What did the Company answer? Directly, nothing. Neither the proceedings of the Zeeland Chamber nor those of

[1] Extracts, p. 145. [2] See p. 205, above.

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the supreme board—the Ten—show any discussion of the matter. The correspondence of the Zeeland Chamber, in whose hands was the immediate direction of the Guiana colonies, is preserved in full; but in their long reply to Beekman's letter there is from beginning to end no mention of Barima.[1] That reply is, however, a mere string of reproaches. The poor commandeur's financial honor, his justice, his commercial good sense, are in turn discredited. He is accused of transcending his powers. Even the Dutch of his letters is found fault with. Amid this array of charges is one which may suggest why the matter of the Barima is ignored. "Concerning the trade to the Orinoco," which up to this time, as we have seen, had been constantly encouraged by the Company, they now write, "We find it advisable that you stop it, and neither trade thither yourself nor permit trade thither, directly or indirectly, until further orders—since we are of opinion that the Company bears all the expenses and burdens, while others help themselves to the profits." This charge of bad faith in his trade to the Orinoco is repeated in even more explicit terms in a later letter;[2] and the reopening of this trade was not again urged until Abraham Beekman had given place to a successor. Now, the lower Barima lay on the route to the Orinoco; and it is not impossible that to the angry and suspicious directors the shelter and the proposed post on the Barima promised less for the profit of their own annatto traffic than for that disastrous trade to the Orinoco out of which they suspected their commandeur of making himself rich.[3]

[1] Lest there could be a mistake about this, their reply of August 24, 1684, is transcribed and printed in full. See Extracts, pp. 164–171.

[2] Letter of Zeeland Chamber, January 14, 1686. Extracts, p. 182.

[3] How serious was their distrust of Beekman may be gathered from the fact that at the meeting of the Ten on December 7, 1686, the deputies of the Zeeland Chamber made formal complaints against that commandeur. These were made a topic of deliberation for the ensuing April meeting, and on April 19, 1687, the Zeeland Chamber was by resolution requested to send in its charges in writing, with Beekman's answer thereto. He was dismissed in 1690.

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But there was at least one other reason, quite apart from any possible doubt as to their title, why the West India Company was unlikely at just this time to be eager for the occupation of the Barima. The annatto trade was no longer a paying one; and the Essequibo colony was now costing more than it came to. Even the Zeelanders were discouraged, and on September 23, 1685, they instructed their deputies to the Ten, "inasmuch as the river Essequibo is in no condition to yield a profit, since the annatto dye is selling badly and is obtained in several colonies," to submit for deliberation "whether it were not more expedient to throw open the river to all private traders."[1] Their colleagues readily concurred, and on January 14, 1686, Beekman was notified that "the annatto dye is fairly a drug on the market, since it not only comes in larger quantities from Essequibo, but is also brought from other lands and regions," and therefore, "for this and other reasons," the Board of Ten has resolved to throw open the river Essequibo, together with the Pomeroon, to free trade.[2] Surely this was no time to add to their burdens the care of another river, and one whose chief product was annatto.

Whatever their reason, it is certain that the West India Company never answered the suggestion as to a Barima post; and Beekman himself never mentioned it again. Early in 1686 the Company cut him off from all relations with the Barima by establishing on the Pomeroon a new colony, and naming as its commandeur Beekman's old foe, Jacob de Jonge. With a colony on the Pomeroon, an outlier there was no longer needed; and throughout the three years of the Pomeroon colony's existence the detailed letters of its commandeur make no mention of the Barima—and no wonder, for it was probably then in the possession of the French.[3] It was at the hands of

[1] Nederlandsch Jaerboek, 1751, p. 808.
[2] Letter of Zeeland Chamber, January 14, 1686. Extracts, p. 181.
[3] See p. 259, above, and Extracts, pp. 172, 182, 188.

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French and Caribs from the Barima that the Pomeroon colony fell, in April of 1689. In October of that year Beekman, still commandeur of Essequibo, reported in alarm that "the French are building a strong-house in Barima; they come there often with three or four barques to trade with those hostile Caribs, and threaten soon to come and pay us a visit."[1] But the Company, while acknowledging the tidings, only suggested precautions for the safety of Essequibo.[2] Annatto was then again in great demand, and the Essequibo commandeur was urged to use "every conceivable means to supply it."[3] This was also urged in the commission of the new commandeur, Samuel Beekman, in December of that year.[4] But the French seem to have maintained for years their alliance with the Barima Caribs against the Dutch,[5] and no more is heard of the Barima in Dutch records of the seventeenth century.

In the muster-rolls of the Company's servants in Essequibo for 1691 and 1701 no Barima post appears among the others.[6] And when, in 1703, the Essequibo commandeur had occasion to speak of the exclusion of Surinam traders "here in our district," he defined the phrase by "Essequibo, Pomeroon, and Demerara," with no mention of the Barima.[7] The little shelter built on the Barima in 1684 may long have stood on the bank of that stream; but the Pomeroon outlier, dispossessed in 1686, could have paid it, at most, but few visits. In fact, as it was scarcely built before the French, in that very summer of

[1] Letter of Essequibo Commandeur, October 12, 1689. Extracts, p. 190.

[2] Letter of Zeeland Chamber, May 18, 1690. Extracts, p. 191.

[3] Extracts, p. 192.

[4] December 9, 1690. It is printed by Netscher, pp. 372–374.

[5] See letter of Essequibo Commandeur, June 24, 1695, cited on page 260, above, and action of the Court of Policy, November 19, 1701. Extracts, pp. 195, 201–203.

[6] Extracts, pp. 192, 199. These are the earliest muster-rolls remaining to us. From this date ou there are few years for which they are wanting.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 70.

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1684, were in possession of the Orinoco, while their allies, the Caribs of the Barima, were murdering the Dutchman Gabriel Biscop and breathing out threats against the Dutch of Essequibo, it is highly probable that he never visited it at all. Indeed, it is not altogether impossible that the attempt of the Dutch commandeur to take possession of the Barima may have been one of the inciting causes of this Orinoco raid of the Martinique French and that their own occupation of the Barima during the next decade or two was more constant than can with certainty be affirmed from Dutch sources. The shelter's site is matter for conjecture.[1] It is most probable that it was not far from the point where the usual route from the Essequibo and the Pomeroon first reaches the Barima, i. e., at or near the junction of the Mora Passage with that river.[2]

[1] The assumption of Mr. Schomburgk, so constantly repeated since, that it was at the mouth of the river, is without documentary warrant and improbable. No object for such a site—without water and remote both from the Caribs, with whom the Dutch wished to trade, and from their own colony—is easily conceivable. It is impossible that such a shelter could have left the remains which Mr. Schomburgk says Colouel Moody found there in 1807. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 194; "Venezuela No. 3," p. 3.) It is far more probable that these were remains of the fort built by the French in 1689 (see p. 270, above). The Surinam expedition sent to the Orinoco in 1711 stopped at the mouth of the Barima, both in going and coming, and makes no mention of a shelter there, though its journal always mentions one when found. (Extracts, pp. 224–228.) That site would have been a more natural one for the French, who, on their way from the islands to the Barima, would here first reach the mainland, than for the Dutch of the Guiana colonies, who came through the Moruca and reached the Barima by the Mora Passage. I have never yet found in any Dutch document a mention of Barima Point, and have no reason to believe that the Dutch ever attached importance to it. Not even the description of Hartsinck or the map of Bouchenroeder, though so often cited in support of the claim, place the traditional Barima post at the mouth of the river. Hartsinck speaks of it only as "on the river," and Bouchenroeder's map places it above what must be meant for the Mora Passage. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that either had any definite knowledge as to the matter.

[2] That the route by the Mora Passage was the usual one to the Barima and the Orinoco, both going and returning, is abundantly clear from the records. Thus in 1703 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 71) the Essequibo commandeur says that this creek named Mora "was a spot where the deserters assuredly must pass" in their

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A Surinam party returning in 1711 from an expedition up the Orinoco found in the Barima, somewhat more than halfway from its mouth to the Mora Passage, a stopping-place (*"pleisterplaats"*) whose name was unknown to them, and there rested over night.[1] It was possibly the abandoned shelter of 1684. It seems more probable that the Dutch shelter stood above, rather than below, the Mora Passage, toward the seat of the dye trade, and that this stopping-place of 1711—just a day's canoeing from the mouth of the river—was due to Indians or traders whose approach was from that side.

The pay-rolls of the Essequibo colony, which from 1700 on give us, year by year, full information as to the staff of every outpost, know no post on the Barima. It is not till 1717 that I again find mention of that river in the documents of that colony. Then the private settlers of the colony addressed to the West India Company an indignant remonstrance against the restrictions put upon their freedom of trade, protesting that thus an unfair advantage is given the colonists of Berbice and Surinam, who may trade as they will, whether in Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini, Barima, Orinoco, or Trinidad.[2] It is impossible to guess from the context whether the Barima is thought of as belonging to Holland or Spain or to neither, and the answer of the Company is equally equivocal on this point.[3]

In 1722 the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, who had been sent over by the West India Company to lay out in Essequibo

flight to the Orinoco, and so it proved. (See also the Surinam journal of 1711, cited above—Extracts, pp. 224–228.) The sea route by the mouth of the Orinoco was little used by the intercolonial commerce. I find no mention of the early use of the upper passage from the Waini to the Barima—the itabo Moreba—though it is, of course, not impossible that this was in use in 1684 and that the Barima shelter was at or near it and therefore high up the river.

[1] Extracts, p. 227.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 75, 76.

[3] Extracts, p. 243; cf. also pp. 238–241.

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the new fort on Flag Island, sent home—doubtless at the Company's request—a very thoughtful report on the condition of the colony, with suggestions for its betterment. "One might also," he thinks, "establish many plantations in the rivers Demerara, Pomeroon, Waini, Barima, and in all the creeks thereabout."[1] Here is distinctly implied a belief that the Barima belongs to the colony. But what the Company thought of it remains in doubt, for they took no action on the suggestion.

A dozen years later there came a yet more pressing occasion for an opinion. In 1734 the Spanish governor of Orinoco sent to Gelskerke, the Essequibo commandeur, to buy supplies for a large body of troops just arrived in the Orinoco, and explained that the troops were to be used against a Swedish attempt to plant a colony on the Barima.[2] Gelskerke furnished the supplies, but wrote home to the West India Company in much trepidation.[3] The story of the Swedes, he feared, might be but a ruse of the Spaniard, whose strength was now alarming, in view of the weakness of Essequibo. Yet the Spanish story seemed confirmed by a rumor which had been for some time afloat in the colony. A Swedish skipper, who a couple of years before had put in at Essequibo, was to return, it was said, "in order to take possession in the river Barima of a tract of land which the King of Spain had given to the late Elector of Bavaria, then governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and which the Elector had presented to the King of Sweden." In any case, troops should be sent to Essequibo; for, urged Gelskerke, "if the Swedes should undertake to try

[1] Extracts, p. 248.

[2] "Situated between the Orinoco and the Company's post Wacupo," explains the Commandeur in his report of this matter to the West India Company—whether adopting a phrase of the Spaniard's letter or interpolating one of his own, can not be guessed. The Spaniard's letter was not transmitted to the Company and has not been found.

[3] June 8, 1734. Extracts, pp. 257–266.

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to establish themselves between the Orinoco and this colony on your territory, it would be my duty to prevent it."[1]

Now, it is not quite clear from this whether Gelskerke meant that the Barima belonged to the Company, or that, if the Swedes should be unable to get the Barima, they might trespass on the Company's territory adjoining. The former seems the simpler interpretation, yet it is strange that he had not earlier apprised the Company of the rumor about the Swedish captain, and that he has no word of protest either for the alleged Spanish grant or for the more aggressive claim implied by the importation of troops for the forcible dispossession of the Swedes. Nor had he protested to the Orinoco governor, whose own courteous letter had cleverly ignored the question of title while deprecating interference by expressing the conviction that the Dutch would not be able to tolerate so proud and haughty neighbors as the Swedes.[2]

But if the commandeur's position is hard to understand, that of the West India Company is inscrutable. If that body had an opinion it never revealed it. No reply, as to the Swedish colony, was made to the Commandeur, and no communication was made to the States-General.

The Swedes never came, and the Barima remained unoccupied. Yet not without visitors, for in 1735 the Essequibo Court of Policy had to deal sharply with a colonist named Jan Couderas, who had taken a pass thither to collect certain red slaves due from the Indians of the Barima to a fellow-colonist, and having collected the debt, had appropriated it, and had gone off with a party of French from Martinique, whom he found trading on that river. Nor this alone; but, buying a boat with the avails of his stolen slaves, he had come back as its captain for another visit to the Barima, and had even had

[1] Extracts, p. 262. [2] Extracts, p. 259.

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the effrontery with a fellow Frenchman and a canoe of Caribs to enter the Essequibo itself after wares for further trade with the Indians. He was said, moreover, to have threatened to carry off the Essequibo colonists who traded to the Orinoco or sought that river for fishing; but this he denied, confessing only his embezzlement. He was, therefore, banished—a penalty dire, indeed, under the circumstances.[1] Was there fear of offending the French? The episode shows, at least, that the French still traded in the Barima; nor is there, in the proceedings, as reported, or in the contemporary correspondence with the Company, any questioning of their right to do so.

The scanty mentions of the Barima thus far found in Dutch records imply, surely, no very exclusive Dutch relations with that river. The next mention, in 1744, is full of promise for a closer tie. The Caribs of the Barima, after much urging from the colony, had captured and murdered a band of runaway slaves; and now their elated chief offered to become responsible for all future runaways escaping toward the Orinoco if only a postholder might be stationed in the Barima[2]—a petition not so strange if one remembers the rum which was always on tap at a Dutch post for every Indian caller, to say nothing of the less certain but more substantial rewards of which the victorious Caribs had just had token.[3]

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[1] Extracts, pp. 274–276.

[2] Letter of April 1, 1744 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85, and Extracts, p. 303).

[3] This estimate of the persuasive power of Dutch rum rests not alone on the complaints of the Spanish missionaries, but on the solid evidence of the accounts of the Company's plantations against the Company's posts for the supply of this necessity. Its consumption at the Moruca post, which lay nearest the Barima Caribs, was especially large, and was expressly justified by this need of hospitality to the Indians. As at the governor's residence, so at the posts, no Indian was suffered to go thirsty away. Even when in 1803 (April 26) Governor Meertens humanely urged placing over the postholders "Protectors of the Indians," he suggested that these Protectors be authorized to purchase "the necessary rum and molasses" ("*de nodige Rum en Melassie*") for the welcome of the Indians, and pointed out that "the Postholders

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Commandeur Storm van 's Gravesande, into whose able hands the colony had lately come, forwarded the suggestion at once to the Company, adding in its support that such a post would be of much use for the trade in boats and in Indian slaves.[1] This time the Company, whose confidence in the new commandeur was exceptional, responded at once, and with favor. They graciously reply that "the placing of a post-holder in Barima for the purpose stated by your letter we are not averse to your making trial of, but recommend, however, that you take good care that through this channel no frauds be carried on"[2]—they had just been setting forth their suspicions as to the smuggling of sugar out of the colony. Even more gracious, just at this juncture, was the supreme board of the Ten. In the brief but flattering missive written him on October 2, 1744, after reading the letter in which he suggests a Barima post, they make, indeed, no mention of this particular suggestion—possibly because it seemed of minor importance, quite as possibly because it belonged to the Zeeland Chamber to deal with this; but they assure him that "we have seen with peculiar satisfaction both your zeal and your industry for bringing the colony of Essequibo into a flourishing state, as well as the good success of your plans and of your attention to the profit of the Company and to the better administration of its affairs. We approve your arrangements and

should also be put in a position to give a glass of rum to the Indians who should visit them" (*"De Posthouders diende ook in staat gesteld te weezen de Indiaan die by hun koomen een glassje Rum te geeven"*). Even the consoling qualities of spirits were not unknown; for in the same governor's journal (April 9, 1803) we find an order to his quartermaster to deliver "to certain Indians whose father and brother were lately shot dead in the expedition against the bush-negroes" two jugs of rum, some codfish, and six flasks of wine" (*"twee Pullen Rum wat Bakkeljauw en 6 Flessen Wyn"*). The Spanish missionaries complained especially of their powerlessness with the Indian against this Dutch means of allurement.

[1] Letter of April 1, 1744, as above.

[2] Letter of Zeeland Chamber, August 24, 1744 (Extracts, p. 304).

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transactions for the attainment of these ends." And, in token of this approval, they send him "two casks of red wine."[1]

Yet this post was never established. Two years later, on March 19, 1746, the commandeur explained to the Company that he had not yet established any post in Barima because he had not yet found a competent postholder for so important a station.[2] The proposed post is never again expressly mentioned, while his frequent mentions of the Barima from now on to the end of his governorship are of such sort as quite to preclude the existence of a Dutch post in that river. And, what is yet more convincing, the muster and pay rolls year by year sent home from the colony make it sure that no servant of the Company was ever stationed at such a post or paid for service there.

This failure to plant a post there is the more striking because at least as early as 1748 there had come to the commandeur's ears a tradition of the existence there of a Dutch post at some earlier time. In December of that year he reported this tradition to the Company. The Spaniards were advancing in the Cuyuni, and Storm wished to know the proper limits of the colony. According to the dictum of the old men and the Indians, he said, its jurisdiction should stretch westward from the frontier of Berbice as far as the river Barima, where in old days there was a post; but this dictum, he thinks, gives not the slightest assurance.[3] Yet he counted it of weight enough to insert a mention of this alleged Barima post in the map he was just then preparing for the Company.[4] And once again, a dozen years later, he mentioned the same tradition.[5] He had spoken, he said, with some very old Caribs, who could remem-

[1] The Dutch of a part of this is given by Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 114, 115.
[2] Extracts, p. 304. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 86.
[3] Extracts, p. 322. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 90.
[4] See Atlas, map 60.
[5] In his letter of August 12, 1761 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117).

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ber the time when the Company had a post in Barima. They had often asked, they told him, its reestablishment, that they might no longer be annoyed by the traders[1] from Surinam.

The tradition thus stated in the two letters of the Essequibo governor was in 1770 given to a wider public by Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of these Guiana colonies, a writer who used both Storm's map and his letters;[2] and it was probably from Hartsinck (or directly from the map and the letters) that it was borrowed by the Bouchenroeder map in 1798.[3] There is, at least, no reason why both Hartsinck and Bouchenroeder may not thus have learned it through Storm's letters; and I have found no other source from which they could have drawn it. It is through Hartsinck and Bouchenroeder that the tradition has become general.

But what shall be said of the tradition itself? Is it possible that a post else lost to record once really existed on the Barima, or can the tradition be otherwise explained? The period since 1700 may at once be dismissed from thought; the muster and pay rolls make that certain. This falls in, too, with Storm's statement: it is "old" men and "very old" Caribs on whose authority the tradition rests. But in the years just prior to 1700, as we have seen, it is not merely the silence of the records, but the known relations of the French with the Barima, which, from 1684 on, forbid thought of a Dutch post in that river; while the language of Commandeur Beekman in 1684, when urging the Company to take that river into its possession, shows that he, at least, knew no tradition of any

[1] "*Swervers*;" not "pirates," but "rovers," i. e., wandering traders. See p. 209, above.

[2] *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 257. As to Hartsinck's use, direct or indirect, of map and letters, see Extracts, pp. 456, 457, and the preface to his *Beschryving*. The "learned friend" who served as an intermediary was very probably Storm's correspondent, Professor Allamand of Leyden.

[3] Atlas, map 46; cf. map 70. As to the history of these maps and as to Bouchenroeder's access to materials, see pp. 163–173 of my report on Maps from Official Sources, in Vol. iii.

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earlier post. Could the employé stationed there by Beekman during the dye season of 1683–84 and the shelter then built for subsequent visits have furnished adequate basis for the later tradition?

What was most likely to have impressed itself upon the memory of a Carib boy was not, in any case, the duration or the frequency of a Dutch outlier's stays in the Barima, but the presence on that river of the white man's shelter or of its ruins, which must often have greeted his eye, and may long have remained to stir his interest, as he paddled through the familiar reaches of his home stream. While the outlier stayed and during his later visits, if any there were, his relations with the Indians could not have differed from those of a regular post-holder. He was of course equipped with the Company's wares. He was commissioned to buy up all Indian products. He was especially charged to warn off those Surinam traders against whose annoyances the Caribs are said to have desired the reestablishment of the post. Nor is he likely to have lacked those means of hospitality, solid and liquid, which may especially have stimulated both Carib memory of a post and Carib zeal for its restoration.[1]

Though Governor Storm van 's Gravesande did not establish a post in the Barima, he did not lose that river from his thought. In 1749, speaking of the Surinam traders thither, he declared it "situated under this jurisdiction."[2] That Essequibo traders were also busy there appears in 1752 from the complaints of the Caribs against one.[3] In 1753 and 1754 Storm reported the rumored arrival in Guiana of emissaries of Sweden for the examination of the Barima, and wished the Company to instruct him how he should bear himself toward

[1] Cf. note, p. 275, above.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 91.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

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this.[1] But he had at the same time what he counted a more serious danger to chronicle. On account of the threatened approach of the Spaniards, the Caribs were departing from the Barima to the Waini, and with them the Dutch traders.[2] This alarm, however, proved exaggerated, and in the following year an Essequibo colonist could be sent to the Barima to take the evidence of a Carib chief as to a foul deed committed in the Mazaruni.[3] The Dutch traders, both from Essequibo and Surinam, still resorted thither; for in 1757 (February 15) Storm reported to the Company that complaints had repeatedly come to him from the Orinoco commandant as to their misconduct in Barima,[4] and that he had written the governor of Surinam about the matter.[5] It would seem, then, that notwithstanding Dutch trade the Spaniards assumed some right of supervision in Barima, and that the Dutch governor was well informed of the fact.

The Spanish raid on the Cuyuni post in 1758 roused the West India Company into a show of interest in the question of boundary. They insisted on knowing from the governor the grounds of his claim to the Cuyuni. In answer he urged

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 97, 99. Extracts, pp. 340, 341, 348.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 99, 100, 102.

[3] But this examination, as appears from the dating of the document, perhaps took place in the Moruca region instead. "Aymara-Aykoeroe" (i. e., Aymara Creek) is very possibly but another form of the name of a well-known branch of the Moruca—the "Haymarakaboera" of Chollet's map (Atlas, map 68), the "Haimuracabara" of Schomburgk. The Carib ending *-aykoeroe* (*icuru*) seems, at least, to answer to the *-kaboera* (*cabura*) found in Arawak regions; and this creek lying just where Arawak and Carib meet, may well have tolerated this Carib turn to its name—at least at the hands of a Dutchman skilled in the Carib speech and dating a Carib document. There is another *Haimara-kuroo* in the upper Essequibo (Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 22). (Cf. note, p. 331, below.)

[4] Extracts, pp. 372, 373.

[5] This letter of Storm's I have sought in vain among the Surinam papers, and Governor Nepveu's reply is not to be found among those of Essequibo. But for a most interesting later letter on the same subject see Extracts, p. 403, and cf. p. 283, below.

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the situation of that river "so far this side of Waini, which people claim to be the boundary; though I," he adds, "think it must be pushed out as far as Barima."[1] And on what grounds, they asked, do you maintain this?[2] In his letter of reply, this question about the Barima was overlooked or ignored;[3] but there soon came an event which forced it upon his attention. In the autumn of 1760, an armed Spanish boat, "sent out expressly to catch the Surinam traders[4] in Barima"[5]—so wrote the Essequibo governor to the Company—had captured certain boats of the Essequibo plantations, which were engaged in the annual fishery at the mouth of the Orinoco.[6] A part of these had been seized on the Essequibo side of the Barima, "and thus," wrote Storm, "within the Company's territory."

But why, again and more explicitly asked the Zeeland Chamber,[7] do you hold that everything which has happened on this side of Barima must be deemed to have occurred on territory of the Company? It was in response to this demand that on August 12, 1761,[8] he mentioned again the Carib tradition of a former Dutch post on the Barima, adding that "the boundaries are always thus defined by foreigners, as may be seen on the map prepared by D'Anville, the Frenchman"—in odd forgetfulness of the fact that D'Anville does not make the Barima the boundary.[9] "These are the only reasons," he

[1] Extracts, p. 386.

[2] Extracts, pp. 389, 390.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114.

[4] "*Swervers*," not "pirates," as translated in the Blue Book. As to these "rovers," or wandering traders, see p. 209 of this report.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 116.

[6] For the details of this enterprise from the Spanish side, see Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 249–254; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 36–38. From these it does not appear that Essequibo slave traders were less aimed at than those of Surinam.

[7] March 16, 1761. Extracts, pp. 391, 392.

[8] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.

[9] See Atlas, map 40.

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said, "upon which I base my opinion, since there are no old documents here from which any information could be had." "It appears to me," he continued,[1] "that the Spaniards are not ignorant of this, else they would not have made so many complaints concerning the behavior of the traders[2] in Barima. I believe that, had they considered it to be their territory, they would have found some means for stopping it."

The Company, satisfied or mystified, was silenced. The Barima was next again mentioned by them when, a few months later (August 23, 1762), they took steps toward securing a new map of the Essequibo colony,[3] which should include the coast as far as the Orinoco, "with an accurate locating of the mouths of the rivers Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima, and such others as flow into the sea between the Essequibo and the Orinoco."[4]

Nor did Storm soon recall it to their attention. The register[5] of the colony, the first ever made (suggested, as he explained, by that of Berbice), which, written with his own hand, he transmitted them in February, 1762, defines the territory of the colony as stretching from Berbice not to the Barima, but only to the Amacura,[6] which on D'Anville's map lies east of the Barima; and in the list of its rivers the Waini is the westernmost named. And when, in August, he had again to report the seizure of a fishing canoe by the Spaniards, this time at the mouth of the Waini,[7] he contents himself with

[1] In his manuscript this begins a fresh paragraph of the letter, while the preceding sentence does not.

[2] "*Swervers*," not "depredators."

[3] Extracts, p. 395.

[4] As to Van Bercheyck (from whom this map was asked) and his map-making, see pp. 136–139 of my report on Maps from Official Sources, in vol. iii. General Netscher prefers to spell the name Van Bergeijk, which is perhaps its modern form.

[5] *Naamwijzer*, directory.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119. Cf. pp. 295–297, below.

[7] This description was repeated in the subsequent directories, of which there are eight (1762–1769). Cf. e. g. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 135.

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declaring this river "indisputably the Company's territory," without mention of the Barima.[1] Yet in April, 1764, in discussing the numerical strength of the Caribs, he again speaks of "the whole jurisdiction of the Company from Abari[2] to Barima."[3]

Most remarkable, however, in view especially of his earlier and later utterances as to Spanish acceptance of the Barima as boundary, is his letter of August 18, 1764, to Governor Nepveu of Surinam, wherein he advises that governor not to name, in the passes granted by him to traders, the river Barima. "Your naming in those passes the river Barima," he explains, "causes complaints from the Spaniards, who, maintaining that that river is theirs—wherein," remarks Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, "I believe they are right—have already sent some of these passes to the Court of Spain." Wherefore, he added, "in all the passes which I issue I set down only permission to pass the posts and to go among the Indians to trade, without naming any place." There were already, he said, such grave reasons for complaints against the Spaniards, which were even then pending before the Court of Spain, that he could wish them to have no answering grievance as an excuse.[4]

Such being the Essequibo governor's attitude, it was unlikely that he would encourage Dutch settlement in the Barima. Down to this time, indeed, there is in the records no mention of any Dutchman's sojourning in the Barima for any purpose save that of trade. The fertility of this unoccupied region had, however, not gone unnoticed. An Essequibo planter, a German said to have been banished from Surinam, one A. von

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 120.
[2] The boundary of Berbice.
[3] Extracts, p. 402.
[4] Extracts, pp. 403, 404.

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Rosen,[1] had in 1749 tried to impress its value upon the King of Sweden, to whom it was said to belong;[2] and, failing in that, addressed himself in 1755 to a prince of his own fatherland, Frederick the Great of Prussia.[3] When this, too, came to nothing, Rosen would seem to have undertaken to settle the Barima on his own account. In April, 1766, Storm van 's Gravesande complained to the Company[4] that a gang of Essequibo colonists, rag-tag and bobtail, had taken up their abode in Barima under sundry pretexts—salting, trade, lumbering—and were making it a den of thieves. As they were staying on the west shore, which was "certainly Spanish territory," he was about to write to the governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs. The Orinoco governor, however (as Storm later wrote the Company), told him just to go ahead and collar the scoundrels.[5] Accordingly the Moruca postholder was sent thither, though with strict instructions not to set foot on "the Spanish bank" of the river. He had the good fortune to apprehend Rosen on the east shore—"our bank," the governor calls it—and arrested him, with a lumberman whom he was maltreating. After trial, Rosen was banished, taking refuge in Orinoco. What became of the other ruffians in the Barima, if others there actually were, does not appear.[6] But the Essequibo court now issued an order forbidding all sojourn in the Barima, lest this become a robbers' nest and involve the colony in a quarrel with the Spaniards; and the Moruca postholder was charged with its active execution.[7] In the formal instructions

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 147, 148. Extracts, pp. 325, 326.

[2] Possibly to an interest stirred by this appeal was due the coming of those Swedish emissaries mentioned in Storm's letters of 1753-54.

[3] In this second appeal Von Rosen, who had now removed to Demerara, was joined by another Demerara planter, earlier a "*swerver*," one Finet. The two had in 1754 made a visit of inspection to Waini and Barima.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 139. Extracts, p. 414.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 143. Extracts, pp. 425, 426.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 139, 140. Extracts, p. 441.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 140. Extracts, p. 415.

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issued to him in 1767 (October 7), he was explicitly charged to "pay strict attention to everything that transpires in Barima and give an exact written report of the same."[1]

The West India Company, though somewhat perturbed lest the colonial authorities had exercised jurisdiction on Spanish territory,[2] approved the course of the governor and the new order of the court if the district were really under their authority; and the detailed explanations and assurances of the governor[3] seem to have set their minds at rest.

The prohibition of sojourn in Barima proved, however, ineffectual. One Jan La Riviere, at least, in spite not only of the order of the Court and its sanction by the Company,[4] but of the express injunction of the governor not to settle between Essequibo and Orinoco, and even of the insertion of this in his passport, went thither with his slaves and his family, and there had a plantation or plantations.[5] There he died, leaving his estate to his widow; but she was not long left in its enjoyment. This time it was the Spaniards who purged the river.[6] In the spring of 1768 a coast-guard vessel, sent from Santo Thomé by the Orinoco governor to warn off the foreigners, sailed up the Barima and destroyed the buildings and plantations found there, carrying off all their tools. The inhabitants, warned by the Caribs, had escaped, and the widow La Riviere returned to Essequibo.[7] The site of their plantation

[1] For these instructions, printed in full from the colonial records by Mr. Rodway, in his report on "The Boundary Question" (Georgetown, 1896), see p. 241, above.

[2] Extracts, pp. 420, 421.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 142, 143. Extracts, pp. 425, 426.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 154. Extracts, pp. 421, 442, 443.

[5] Extracts, pp. 452, 453.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 274–279. Venezuelan "Documents," I, pp. 231–234.

[7] The Spanish testimony to this exploit speaks of "sundry" Dutch families and of "the foreigners," and mentions the houses and plantations as if there were several establishments. But, had there been any other settlers from Essequibo, it seems probable that Storm would have learned it, if only from the widow La

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in the Barima is nowhere mentioned.[1] Of protest by the Dutch authorities there seems to have been no thought.

There is never again mention in Dutch documents of the stay of any Dutchman in the Barima. A Spaniard, however, the young officer Inciarte, who in 1779, on his way to the Pomeroon, made a reconnoissance of the lower Barima, found in the Aruka, its lowest western tributary of importance, at the distance of a league from the Barima, a hill "which was inhabited by a Dutchman from Essequibo called Mener Nelch and by certain Indians of the Carib tribe."[2] At the foot of

Riviere, and would have mentioned it to the Company. It is possible that the other settlers, if such there were, were from other colonies – not improbably French or English from the islands. In the library of the British Museum, in that volume of the Egerton manuscripts calling itself *Papeles Tocantes á la Provincia de Venezuela, Vol. III, 1773–1798* (marked Press 542. G.); there is a copy of a letter, addressed by Andrés de Oleaga, Contador of Guayana, to Josef de Ahalos, Intendente of Carácas, which seems to throw a light on this. It contains this passage (fol. 70, lines 19–25): "Covetous of this spacious and attractive territory on the banks of the river Barima, the English of Barbados, united with the Dutch of Essequibo, established a colony, and in the year 1778 were dislodged by action of this government through the agency of the privateer boats of this place; and, in spite of the watch which has been kept, the English have continued to make great ravages on the timber." (*"Envidiosos de este grande y ameno territorio en la margen del Rio Barima, establecieron colonia los Yngleses de la Barvada, unidos con los Olandeses de Esquivo, y el año de 1778 fueron desalojados por disposicion de este Govierno por las lanchas corsarias de esta Plaza, y por mucho que se ha vigilado siempre han hecho grandes sacas de maderas los Yngleses."*) Now "1778" is here a quite impossible date; for the letter itself, though misdated "1777" (November 15), is an answer to one of August 14, 1778, and must have been written before the end of that year. Inasmuch as the Spanish purging of the Barima in 1768 answers so perfectly to the description in this passage, while none of 1778 is known from the records, it seems a fair conjecture that "1778" is here but an error for 1768, and that the other settlers then ousted from the Barima were therefore English. That Oleaga was likely to know whereof he spoke will appear from the fact that it was precisely he who in 1768 as Royal Accountant in Santo Thomé received and invoiced the confiscated property. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 274–280; Venezuelan "Documents," I, pp. 231–234.) Governor Storm at first believed the attack instigated by certain deserters from the Moruca post and plantation (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 148, 151; Extracts, pp. 440, 442); but there is no mention of these in the Spanish documents, and Storm himself later speaks of it as simply the work of the Spaniards (Extracts, p. 453).

[1] My reasons for thinking they may have been on the Aruka are stated just below.

[2] Seijas, *Limites Britanicos de Guayana*, p. 91.

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this hill he found the hulls of a large pirogue and of another craft, and was assured by an Indian that these had belonged to the Dutchman. On the hill he found survivals of coffee, banana, and orange trees. Further details he noted in a diary,[1] which unfortunately is now lost.

"Mener" is doubtless *Mynheer*. It would be hard to represent its sound more accurately in Spanish. "Nelch," I suspect to be a distortion of *Nelis*. Diederik Nelis[2] was a man well known to Essequibo records.[3] In 1765 it was only the timely encounter with "the colonist Diederik Nelis coming from Barima"[4] which saved three lost sailors from starvation. In August, 1767, Nelis was living in the upper Essequibo,[5] "up near the plantation Oosterbeek." It was to him that the Caribs reported the desertion of the post Arinda;[6] but before the end of that year he had been provisionally made postholder at Moruca, though the governor confesses his incompetence, and implies that he was a man addicted to drink.[7] There he was kept until 1774, when he was replaced by the bylier Vermeere.[8] As postholder in Moruca at the time of the Spanish

[1] "Entrando en el citado caño de Aruco, á una legua de navegacion, se da con el primer cerro, el que ha sido habitado pocos años hace de un holandés de Esquivo llamado Mener Nelch, y various indios de la nacion Caribo. Al pié de este cerro en un cañito encontré un fondo con el casco entero de un guairo y otro de una piragua grande que un indio me aseguró haber sido del expresado holandés. En el nominado cerro hallamos porcion de árboles de café, anones y naranjos: omito las demás circunstancias por tener anotadas por menor en el diario que tengo formado, al que me refiero."

[2] The name appears also as "Neelis," and at least once (in instructions to Moruca postholder, 1767, see p. 241, above) as "Neels," which sounds strikingly like Nelch.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

[4] Extracts, p. 411.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 145.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 149.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 157, 162, 180.

[8] Vermeere, who had been bylier since 1766, first appears as postholder in the muster-roll of July 4, 1774. As the military pay-roll for this year (for reasons appearing in Extract No. 291) does not mention the posts, the exact day when Nelis was relieved can not be stated. Vermeere had been captured by the Spanish

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sack of the La Riviere plantation, and as himself expressly charged with attention to all that transpired in Barima and with the exclusion of Essequibo settlers, Nelis must have become more familiar with the place, and may easily have betaken himself thither on his release from his duties at Moruca. As the La Riviere plantation had already been cleared, and as the same considerations, agricultural and political,[1] which would direct his choice of site and of soil must have influenced La Riviere before him, it is surely not improbable that the site occupied by Nelis (if "Mener Nelch" was really he) had been La Riviere's as well.[2]

Mener Nelch is not quite the last Barima settler known to tradition. When in 1841 Mr. Schomburgk went up that stream, he found, far up the river, at the mouth of the Herena, a place where, as he was told by the Indians, a white man at the commencement of this century had cultivated sugar. He had possessed, the Indians said, a schooner and several punts, with which he carried on a timber trade. The spot was still called by the Indians "The last place of the white man."[3] Mr. Schomburgk's conjecture that this white man was "very likely a Dutch settler" is doubtless reasonable enough. His mode of life at least suggests rather a migrant

in October, 1770, but was released in 1773, reaching Essequibo again on April 24. Says the pay-roll for 1772 (transmitted in 1773): . . . "*Vermeere by de Spanjaards in Octob^r 1770 is gevange genomen. . . . P. S.: voor 't senden van dit guarnisoen soldy boek is opgem. Vermeere weder los gelaten, en op de 24 April 1773 alhier q'arriveert.*"

[1] In view of the Company's attitude (see p. 285), a Dutchman west of the Barima was doubtless safer from arrest by the Essequibo authorities, while from the Spaniards, so far as appears, he was no more safe on one side than on the other.

[2] When, in 1883, Mr. Im Thurn, entered on the charge of this region, there "had even then been settled for some time" on the Aruka "a coloured man from the Demerara River, a Chinaman, and a Portuguese;" and it is on the Aruka, adds Mr. Thurn, that "the chief agriculture of the district has developed since the time of that first visit." See his very interesting article on "*British Guiana; the Northwestern District*," in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1892, pp. 677, 678.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 215; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 12.

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from some neighboring Dutch, English, or French colony than a Spaniard. Yet it is only a conjecture, and I am able to throw no light upon it from the documents.

The Dutch documents, indeed, know little enough of the Barima after 1768. Storm van 's Gravesande did not again urge it as the boundary; and in the remonstrance to Spain in 1769 the Dutch Government described its territory as extending, not to the Barima, but only "to beyond the river Waini." Not even a Dutch trader is again heard of in the Barima. The West India Company, which theretofore had always encouraged the colonial trade to the Orinoco,[1] issued in 1761 its instructions that so far as possible this trade be transferred to the Spaniards and carried on, not from Essequibo to Orinoco, but from Orinoco to Essequibo.[2] This policy was loyally and effectively carried out; and within two years the current of trade was flowing the other way.[3] Before the end of the century it was such a thing of course that, when in 1794 the Governor-General (a man long in the colony and exceptionally familiar with its interests) visited the Moruca post, he learned for the first time of the inland route by which "in the rainy season the Spanish *lanchas*, coming from Orinoco to Moruca," made their way from one river into another, and reports this "route of the Spanish lanchas" to the Dutch home authorities as "something very remarkable."[4] It was only "in former days," according to his narrative, that the postholder, his informant, had made "several journeys to Orinoco."

[1] Excepting only during the brief interval of want of confidence in Commandeur Beekman (1684–1690).

[2] Extracts, p. 394. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 126, where, however, there is an unfortunat mistranslation: the original has, not "the road to the Spaniards," but "the road of the Spaniards hither" ("*Ook is de passagie der Spanjaerden naer hier voorby de door*"). Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela, No. 3," pp. 128, 131, 142; and, for other mentions of the presence of Spaniards in Essequibo at this period, pp. 122, 144, 154.

[4] "*Iets zeer merkwaardig.*" (Extracts, p. 616.)

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The relations with the Caribs of the Barima remained, indeed; and one hears from them occasional complaints, mainly of the aggressions of the Spaniards.[1] Once (26 July, 1769) the Company encouraged stirring the Caribs to reprisals;[2] and once (11 Oct., 1775) the Moruca postholder met a Spaniard's claim to the Barima and the rivers between it and the Moruca by an answering claim for the Dutch.[3] But the only errand which after 1768 I find taking a Dutchman into that region is the overhauling of escaping slaves.[4] Of the Spaniards in and about Barima there is somewhat more frequent mention.[5]

The claim to the Barima as boundary, though its mention by Hartsinck in 1770,[6] its recognition on the English map published in 1783 from the observations of Thompson,[7] and its adoption in 1798 by the map of Bouchenroeder must have kept it familiar,[8] finds for long no further mention in the records. In 1801, however, the confidential envoy sent to represent the Dutch Council of the Colonies at the elbow of the Dutch plenipotentiary in the Congress of Amiens was instructed to see that the colonial boundary was there defined at the Barima, if it could not be fixed at the Orinoco;[9] but, as he explained to the Council in a most suggestive letter, he found it unwise to mention the question there.[10] The negotiations at Madrid suggested by him were never undertaken; and the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 156, 157, 165. Extracts, pp. 454, 547.

[2] Extracts, p. 465.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

[4] Extracts, pp. 595, 599.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 160–162, 190; Extracts, p. 566; and passages cited at beginning of this paragraph.

[6] *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 146.

[7] Atlas, map 43.

[8] Atlas, maps 70, 46. Cf. vol. iii, pp. 163–173.

[9] Extracts, pp. 639–644.

[10] Extracts, pp. 645–647.

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only further mention of the river I have found among Dutch papers is in an unused and unpublished charter submitted by this returned envoy to his colleagues in 1803, wherein it is proposed that under certain conditions the colonists of Essequibo and Demerara shall be allowed to cut timber in the Pomeroon, the Waini, and the Barima.[1]

The results of my research, then, are as follows:

1. Prior to 1683 little is known of the relations of the Dutch with the Barima; but, so far as known, they were of trade alone and did not differ from those of other Europeans trading in that river.

2. Toward the end of 1683 the Dutch Commandeur in Essequibo provisionally took possession of that river for the Dutch West India Company by stationing there an employé to buy up Indian wares and by warning off other traders; and early in 1684 he had a shelter built there for occasional visits from the Pomeroon postholder, at the same time suggesting to the Company that it take the Barima into its possession and establish there a permanent outlier's post.

3. The West India Company wholly ignored these suggestions; and in the summer of 1684, and for long thereafter, the Barima was occupied by hostile Caribs and by their allies, the French, who in 1689 were building a fort in that river. For many years nothing more is heard of Dutch trade in the Barima.

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[1]Extracts, pp. 657-659; but cf. also pp. 660, 661. The alleged staking out and apportionment, in 1797, of all the lands "from Essequibo to Point Barima," of which there is report in a Spanish document of that year (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 138, 139), belongs, of course, to the period of British occupation and is not within the scope of the present report. I find, however, in the Dutch papers during their reoccupation in 1802-3 no mention of such a thing, and at least one paper (Extracts, No. 353) not easy to reconcile with it. If true, there should be, of course, in the British colonial or military archives under this date some report of this survey and apportionment.

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4. In the eighteenth century Dutch trade there was resumed and relations of close friendship with the Caribs built up; but, though in 1744 the establishment of a post in that river was again suggested by the Essequibo Commandeur, and this time provisionally approved by the West India Company, no post was ever at any time established.

5. Settlement in the Barima was at no time attempted by the Dutch. In 1766 a party of Essequibo colonists sojourning there under pretext of salting, trading, or lumbering, was dislodged by the Essequibo government itself, which then prohibited all stay there. The plantation of another Essequibo colonist, who, in defiance of this prohibition, settled there, was in 1768 destroyed by the Spaniards without protest from the Dutch. Of two later settlers, vouched for by Indian tradition and reputed or suspected to be Dutch, the identity is uncertain and the fate unknown.

6. No other Dutch occupation of the Barima, of any kind, has been found recorded.

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7. THE DUTCH IN THE AMACURA AND BEYOND.

Of the Amacura there is little mention in Dutch records. In 1598 Cabeliau and his companions of that earliest Dutch expedition to Guiana traded with the Indians in the Amacura as well as in the Barima.[1] In 1629 Admiral Pater, going up the Orinoco for his sack of Santo Thomé, mentions the Amacura in his sailing notes;[2] but Jan de Laet, who used his log books, understood by it only the easternmost mouth of the Orinoco. So it is represented on his map of Guiana,[3] and so it appears on Dutch maps throughout the seventeenth century[4]—not excepting those published in the prospectuses for the colonization of Guiana.[5] The earliest mention of the Amacura I have found among the papers of the Dutch West India Company is of 1681.

Very puzzling, in view of these facts, is the mention, in certain Spanish documents of the year 1637, of the Amacura in connection with the Essequibo and the Berbice as the seat of a Dutch colony.[6] That it is an error I can not doubt; for not only is it inconceivable that so important a post should be unknown to the official records in the Netherlands, but docu-

[1] Extracts, p. 17.

[2] *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1630, p. 593; Latin ed. of 1633, p. 660.

[3] So it had already been printed on De Laet's map in 1625; and, identifying Pater's "Ammegore" with Keymis's "Amacur," he found in 1630 and in the later editions no reason for change. See Atlas, map 24.

[4] Cf., e. g., those of Blaeuw (Atlas, maps 25-28).

[5] E. g., in the printed edition of the grant to the Count of Hanau (Frankfort, 1669) and in the *Pertinente Beschryving van Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1676).

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 214, 215.

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ments which I herewith lay before the Commission[1] show that in this very year, 1637, both the Spanish governor of Guayana and the Dutch executive officer in charge of the neighboring island of Tobago looked on the fort in the Essequibo as the Dutch possession nearest the Orinoco.[2] One may perhaps account for the error by some aid given the Dutch by the Caribs of Amacura,[3] or by some confusion with the Moruca, through which the route of the Dutch invaders may have lain, or simply by that astounding misinformation which belongs so generally to the Spanish reports about Dutch settlements.[4] What has been said of the Barima at this period shows the unlikelihood of the presence of the Dutch in the Amacura at the middle of the seventeenth century; and that they were not there in 1673 seems implied by the language of an English captain who in that year victualed there,[5] and by that of the English Council for

[1]Extracts, pp. 76, 80. It is true that in the Spanish governor's list of the Dutch colonies (p. 81) there is one represented only by a blank ("N")—whether because he had forgotten its name, or because the prying Dutchman could not make it out; but the place of this blank in the series sufficiently shows that, in the thought of the Spaniard, it was toward the east of Guiana, not toward the west. And if there had been in 1639 a Dutch settlement in the Amacura, it would have been there, and not in Essequibo—or, at least, in the Amacura as well—that Jan van der Goes would have been instructed to "inform himself of the enemy's circumstances" before proceeding with his secret expedition to the Orinoco. (Extracts, p. 96.) Where it was, in this direction, that he was charged to erect a fort, can only be guessed; but wherever it was, "he erected no fort at the place prescribed by his instructions," even though "the enemy offered no hindrance there." (Extracts, p. 99.)

[2]This is suggested also, indeed, by a Spanish document printed in this same connection by Great Britain (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 216), wherein a projected attack on the Dutch in Essequibo and Berbice is spoken of without mention of the Amacura, which would certainly have been earliest dealt with.

[3]Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 212.

[4]In illustration, not to cite less palpable cases, I may instance the part played by the Dutch settlement of Nieuw Middelburg on the Pomeroon, which for much more than a century after its destruction appears regularly in Spanish documents and maps as the capital of this nearest of Dutch colonies.

[5]Captain Peter Wroth, who testified on August 5, 1673, as follows: "Dep[onen]t then sailed past Surinam, taking a sloop, to Isakebe, al[ia]s Demerara, where he was ambuscaded and lost some men, and thence to the Caribbs in Amecouza River, where he victualed, and arrived at Barbadoes this day." "Amecouza" is probably only a misreading of Amecoura.

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Plantations, who in the following year advised the authorities of Barbados to return to "the River of Amacoura in Guiana" eleven Indians who "have been lately brought thither,[1] as they judge by force" (carried off perhaps by Wroth), "and that they take occasion to gain the good will of the neighbor Indians to his Majesty's subjects, who have lately found, by their assistance to the French, of what consequence their friendship is."

But by 1681 the Dutch of Essequibo were at least familiar with the Amacura; for we find them sending a canoe thither to salt down manatees and wild hog's flesh.[2] In 1685 the Dutch hating Coppenam Caribs driven out from Surinam were said to be taking refuge in Amacura as well as in Barima and Waini;[3] and it is long before the name again appears in the records. At last, in 1762, on the title-page of the first directory of the Essequibo colony,[4] one finds the "River Amacura" named as its western boundary; but a study of the context shows that the Amacura here meant must lie *east* of the Barima, for the Barima does not appear among the streams of the colony. It is probably the Amacura of the D'Anville map, so much appealed to by Governor Storm van 's Gravesande, the author of this directory—a stream placed on that map midway between those there called Barima and Wayma (Waini) and emptying into the Orinoco at the spot where modern maps show the mouth of the Barima. While it is, I am convinced, a misconception to hold that, when Storm van 's Gravesande spoke of the Barima, he meant the Amacura, it is none the less certain that, when he here speaks of the

[1] British *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1669–74, Nos. 1134, 1409 (pp. 518, 631).

[2] Extracts, p. 152.

[3] Extracts, p. 173.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 119. See p. 282, above.

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Amacura, it was not the Amacura proper, but, at farthest, the stream we now know as the Barima. And so with the following directories, till their cessation in 1769.

As to this strange confusion, a word of further discussion may be useful. That D'Anville has simply transposed the names of the two rivers is quite possible. But with Storm van 's Gravesande it is otherwise. Before the D'Anville map was first published the name of the Barima was thoroughly familiar to him. The Amacura there is no reason to believe him to have known at all. The Barima, as appears from his correspondence, he knew as on the inland route to Orinoco, as the home of the Caribs, as the river where a post of the Company was said once to have been. Nothing that he says of it suggests that it may have been the Amacura which was in his thought. In his map,[1] made for the Company in 1748, the Barima appears, not the Amacura; and the little Spanish map[2] which, in 1750, he handed over to the Dutch authorities shows the Barima (though without its name), and not the Amacura. When the map of D'Anville came into his hands he seems to have assumed without question that the river thereon shown as the Barima was the river he had always known by that name. Despite his later appeals to D'Anville's map, all that he tells of the Barima, to the end of his official life, is told demonstrably of the Barima proper, not of D'Anville's Barima, the Amacura; for his information came from those who knew the river through no blundering map. When, however, just prior to the preparation of his directory, in 1762, his claim to the Barima as a boundary had been treated with hesitation and distrust by the Company,[3] it would not be strange if he turned to the D'Anville map, and, finding there, midway between the river marked Barima and the Waini (which he counted "indisputably

[1] Atlas, map 60. [2] Atlas, map 61. [3] See p. 281, above.

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the Company's territory"), a tiny stream named Amacura, chose this as the limit to be named in the directory. But, whatever may have been the reason of his course, the fact seems clear that the "Barima" of his letters was the Barima of local parlance, and not the Barima of D'Anville's map; while the "Amacura" of his directory was the Amacura of D'Anville's map, and not that of local parlance. In other words, there is no reason to believe that the Amacura is here in question at all. And, if not here, then nowhere; for I find in Dutch records no further mention of that river.[1]

More of interest I find in Dutch relations with remoter branches of the Orinoco and with the Orinoco itself. The foreboding in a Spanish document of 1686, written by a Spaniard in Spain,[2] that the French may, in league with the Indians, "occupy the territories and ports of His Majesty [the King of Spain], as they have done in other parts, and as the Dutch have also done with some towns on the River Orinoco in the region of the Mainland," is probably, so far as refers to the Dutch, only a vague and careless allusion to the sacking of Santo Thomé by them in 1629 and 1637; but I have found else much reason to doubt that the Dutch in the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth regarded the Orinoco as so altogether

[1] I should perhaps except a mention in a letter of protest received by the Essequibo governor in 1767 from a Spanish friar, who declares the Indians of Soro and Amacura to be committed to his care, and asks the return of those seized for slaves. (Extracts, p. 427.) The governor calls him "a missionary priest in Orinoco," and intimates that if any of his Indians are in Essequibo they have run away thither. The Spanish mission of "Amacuro" finds mention also, among the newer missions of the Aragonese Capuchins, in Fray Caulin's *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia* (1779). The interesting Spanish document (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 138, 139) which tells how, in January, 1797, a Spanish official found the Amacura guarded by Indians on behalf of the English in Essequibo belongs, of course, to the period of British occupation of that colony and does not fall within the scope of the present report. The British and the Spaniards were then at war.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 222.

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Spanish as is often assumed.[1] The earlier Spanish documents abound in complaints of the liberties taken by the Dutch in that river, even above Santo Thomé;[2] and below that point the Dutch long traded in freedom—often with the connivance of the Spanish officials themselves.[3] One great southern branch, the Aguire, they seem long to have treated as a sort of neutral territory. When in 1726 two agents were sent from Essequibo to the Spanish governor in Orinoco for the purchase of certain articles, they were instructed in writing by the Essequibo authorities, in case the governor should refuse them permission to trade, to repair to the Aguire and barter for the articles there.[4] In 1730, the missionary Bishop of Oran, the Frenchman Nicolas Gervais, finding in Orinoco no sphere for his activity and refused permission to convert the Indians in Essequibo, betook himself, under Dutch escort, to the Aguire as to a neutral soil; and when he was murdered there by the Caribs, it was a Dutchman trading to that river who reported his fate and the Dutch authorities of Essequibo who recovered his effects and transmitted them to his countrymen in the islands.[5] In 1741 the Essequibo plantations sent to the Aguire for the purchase of horses.[6] In 1760 Father Benito de la Garriga, prefect of the Capuchin Missions, spoke of a Dutch slave trader who was domiciled for eight years among the Caribs of the Aguire.[7] And about the same time

[1] A phrase lately ascribed to the Directors of the Dutch West India Company in 1639, "the Orinoco being Spanish," is not theirs, but only a remark of a modern historian of the Guiana colonies (Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 69), who had no thought of putting it in their mouths.

[2] See, e. g., Venezuelan "Documents," I, and cf. Extracts, pp. 226, 244.

[3] See Extracts, pp. 142, 243–246, and *passim:* all Dutch trade in the Orinoco with the Spaniards was, of course, matter of connivance.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 79. Extracts, p. 249.

[5] Extracts, pp. 250–253. Yet see also Fray Caulin's *Historia*, pp. 56, 328–339.

[6] Extracts, p. 293.

[7] Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 148.

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(1757) Don José Iturriaga mentioned, in a dispatch to the Spanish Government, that for connivance at the Dutch trade with the missions by this route the friar of the Palmar mission had been removed.[1] The Caribs of the upper Orinoco had a regular route thither, crossing the Caroni above the missions.[2] It was even believed among the missions that the Dutch governor of Essequibo claimed jurisdiction as far as a line running due south from the mouth of the Aguire. This was told their prefect by a fugitive slave, who claimed to have brought from Essequibo an official document in which this was shown;[3] and a Dutchman from Essequibo told the same prefect that the mission of Curumo had been destroyed because it lay east of this line.[4] The slave traders are even said to have once presented a passport in which the Essequibo governor styled himself "Governor of Essequibo and the mouth of the Orinoco."[5] But all this is unknown to the Dutch records, and was certainly never reported to the home authorities. Indeed, if the Essequibo correspondence may be trusted, the Dutch slave traders who infested these parts are more likely to have been from Surinam than from the western colonies.[6] When in 1758

[1] Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 167. Very interesting is Fray Caulin's account of the Aguire, written in 1759. After speaking of the ship's mouth of the Orinoco, he adds: "*Antes de desaguar este Caño forma una Ensenada, en la qual recibe al Rio Barima, y mas arriba al Aquire, que trae su origen de la Serrania de Imataca, á pocas leguas de los Pueblos de Miámo y Terepi de Nacion Carives, que ha fundado el R. P. Fr. Alejo, Capuchino Catalan. En este Rio dieron cruel muerte los Carives al Ilustrisimo Señor Obispo Don Nicolás Gervasio de Labrid . . . Hoy está habitado de Indios Carives y Aruacas, que viven gentilmente, acompañados de muchos Christianos fugitivos de los Pueblos de Mision, en que recibieron el Santo Bautismo, y, lo que no es de pasar en silencio, en el perjudicial exercicio de servir de prácticos, vogas, y mensageros á los Olandeses de Esquivo, que entran frequentemente por este Caños al ilicito y lamentable Comercio de Esclavos, que compran en crecido numero á los Carives, conduciendolos por este y otros Rios.*" . . .

[2] Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 185.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 237; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 8, 9.

[4] Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151.

[5] Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 143.

[6] See pp. 209, 362, of this report.

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the acting governor of Essequibo reported to the West India Company that the Spaniards were building a mission in the Imataca, the river next west of the Aguire, he added the comment that this was, in his opinion, "certainly far outside the concern of this colony."[1] Of Dutch trade in this lower Orinoco region I find no mention after the sixties of the eighteenth century.

In fine, then:

1. So far as known, the Dutch in Guiana had never any relations with the Amacura, save to fish and hunt in that river; and even that is known through but a single instance (in 1681).

2. With the lower Orinoco in general, and especially with the Aguire, they long maintained relations of trade, and in such sort as to make doubtful their recognition of Spanish sovereignty there.

[1] Extracts, p. 334.

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8. THE DUTCH IN THE CUYUNI.

From the beginning of their occupation of the Essequibo the Dutch were established at the junction with that river of its two great western branches, the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni.[1] There was their fort, there their seat of government, there their earliest plantations.[2] From this confluence the plantations spread upstream to where tide-water is met by the rapids which fill the whole upper course of these rivers. The Cuyuni, whose lowest falls are but a half-dozen miles from its union with the Mazaruni, and whose higher banks were less suited to the planting of sugar, was the latest of the three to be occupied, and at the end of the seventeenth century plantations had but begun to creep up that river.[3] With the introduction, however, in the early part of the eighteenth century, of the cultivation of coffee, cacao, and indigo, the lands in the lower Cuyuni also were taken into use.[4] It had been an argument, both for indigo and for coffee, that they could be cultivated in the upper rivers—that is, above the rapids which set a limit to tide-water navigation.[5] The success with these cultures was never such as to make

[1] See p. 185 of this report.

[2] Extracts, pp. 102, 132. A. van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 42, 43.

[3] A cassava ground was planted on an island at its mouth as early as 1681; and in 1694 a plantation was begun on the shore above the fort. (Extracts, pp. 152, 194.) This was perhaps the later Duinenburg, at the angle of Cuyuni and Mazaruni. Duinenburg was certainly in existence in 1710, but was then called a new plantation. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 73.)

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 77, 80, 82, 83, 84.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72. Extracts, p. 248.

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this necessary. The highest plantations established in the Cuyuni were the Company's indigo plantation on the north, a little below the lowest fall, its coffee plantation on the south, a little lower down, and coffee and cacao plantations on the Batavia Islands between. This is shown both by maps, like that of Heneman in 1772,[1] which long after these plantations had been abandoned marks carefully their forsaken sites, and that of Storm van 's Gravesande, in 1748,[2] which shows that the culture of indigo had already been given up, and that in the Cuyuni there then remained nothing but one coffee plantation; and also by documents, like the letter of the colonial Court of Policy in 1731 explaining why "it is impossible to establish any plantations" above the falls,[3] like the journals of the mining engineer Hildebrandt,[4] which show with minuteness of detail that at the time of his operations in the colony (1741–1743) there was above this coffee plantation and the indigo plantation opposite no occupation on the Cuyuni,[5] and like the letter of Storm in 1759,[6] in which, enumerating to the Company the basis of the colony's claim to the Cuyuni, he specifies, in proof of occupation, nothing besides the work of the miners and "the coffee and indigo plantations you for many years had there." The situation of the indigo plantation is, moreover, distinctly stated by the Director-General in 1761,[7] when he speaks of the Spaniards in Cuyuni who "have been down to the lowest fall, where your Lordship's indigo plantation was situated."[8] It is possible that the gravest obstacle to

[1] Atlas, map 63.

[2] Atlas, map 60.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 83.

[4] Extracts, Nos. 140, 142, 143, 147, 148, 149 (pp. 285–301).

[5] This would have appeared even more fully had it been thought worth while to print his bulky journals entire.

[6] Extracts, p. 386. Cf. also Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 111.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 117.

[8] "*Gelegen heeft:*" *was situated,* not *is,* as translated in the Blue Book.

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the occupation of the Cuyuni was the reputed insalubrity of the river. In February, 1748, the colonial Court of Policy reported the old indigo plantation unsalable, even on the most favorable terms, because of "the remoteness and the unhealthfulness of the river Cuyuni."[1]

Its remoteness was, however, no small matter, for after the completion of the new fort in the lower river (1740) the whole colony, lured by the rich sugar lands of the coast, had drifted rapidly thither. Already, by 1748, the Company's old plantation of Duinenburg, at the angle of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni, abandoned about 1740 for a new Duinenburg on Fort Island,[2] had passed into the hands of a private planter, Van der Heyden,[3] whose family remained its proprietor throughout the Dutch ownership of the colony and gradually gained possession of the other lands in the lower Cuyuni, on both sides, and of the islands as well,[4] their property (at least on the south bank) reaching to the falls.[5] That Van der Heyden

[1] Extracts, p. 316. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 73.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 87. Atlas, map 60. Netscher, pp. 112, 113. Care must be taken not to confuse Old Duinenburg with this new plantation. The Blue Book translation, in passages mentioning the older plantation, has several times by error a present tense instead of a past.

[3] Atlas, map 60.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85.

[5] This appears from the report made to the governor of British Guiana in 1855 by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into and report upon the titles to lands, etc., in the rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cuyuni, with their respective tributary streams—a copy of which I owe to the courtesy of Her Majesty's Colonial Office. In support of a claim then pending on behalf of the heirs of Stephanus Gerardus van der Heyden, to "the lands called and known as Cartabo, situate at the junction of the Massaroony and Cayoenie rivers," and to other lands, there was laid before the Commissioners a grant of May 5, 1774, to S. G. van der Heyden of "certain lands in the river Essequebo, beginning at the north side of the river Cayoenie upwards from the Creek Simieri to the Creek Paricoesa, and on the south side of that river beginning from the Creek Ocroreboe to the Fall Acajoe, besides the Island [*sic*] Big and Small Batavia, and two others, and the Island Acaijoe and Arwassie, in the River Masseroeni, to the east of the lands of his parents from the Creek Wonipiere upwards to the Creek Tipoeroe and the Island Rusthoff."

The Commissioners, finding on Bouchenroeder's map no creek named "Paricoesa," thought Zuiker Creek must be meant, "for no other creek is laid down on the chart

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was an extreme settler in the Cuyuni, appears from many allusions in the documents of the next half-century, and his intimate relations with the Indians made him of great service to the colony;[1] but that he ever occupied or used lands above the falls is nowhere intimated.[2]

Another colonist who must have dwelt at the extreme of settlement in the Cuyuni is that C. Crewitz, who, in 1761, was charged there with the prevention of smuggling and the arrest of runaway slaves; but of him we are not only told that he lived "below the fall,"[3] but are so fortunate as to know the precise limits of his land.

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upward from Simierie"; but "the chart" is here a poor reliance, and Zniker Creek was then known by that name. Van der Heyden had, however, already land on the north of the Cuyuni to the westward of this acquisition; for a grant of 1761 (Extracts, p. 393) shows him then in possession there as far as the old indigo plantation. The Van der Heydens held land also in the Mazaruni (Atlas, map 60). The lands acquired by them in 1761 "in Mazaruni" from Van der Cruysse (Extracts, p. 392) were, however, not in that river above its junction with the Cuyuni, but on the north side of their united stream between their confluence and the Essequibo (see note 3, below) and, since they reached the creek "Simiery," must have adjoined the grant of 1774 described above.

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 106, 127, 138, 144, 158, 159, 166, 180, 181, 184, 194. Extracts, pp. 304, 555, 556. On account of these services the Director-General once even urged the Company to exempt him from taxation.

[2] When in 1789 the Spanish officer, Lopez de la Puente, made his expedition down to the mouth of the Cuyuni he found dwelling here at the fork of the Cuyuni and the Mazaruni "a Dutchman named Daniel with four companions, very many negroes, and Indian slaves—all his." It was, doubtless, Daniel van der Heyden (cf. Blue Book, p. 194; Extracts, p. 600). In the Mazaruni there were also "some Dutchmen with a Carib village." Besides these a Carib, Manuyari, had his house on the north of the Cuyuni at the foot of the rapids. (Blue Book "Veneznela No. 3," p. 338.)

[3] Blue Book, p. 118; Extracts, p. 393. "Cruysse," as the name is spelled in the Blue Book translation of the letter of February 9, 1762, is a misreading. The manuscript (Storm's autograph at London) has "Crenztz," doubtless a distortion of Crewitz, as comparison with the earlier passage on the same page suggests. Christiaan Crewitz must, of course, not be confused with the councilor Abraham Van der Cruysse, a man of more note in the colony, who owned much land further down the Cuynni toward the Essequibo, from opposite Old Duinenburg all the way to the

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The only other occupants of the lower Cuyuni mentioned in the Dutch records are the Creoles—slaves born of Indian mothers and negro fathers. In 1741 thirty or forty of these, driven to desperation by the brutality of the miner Hildebrand, whom they were forced to aid in his operations in the Cuyuni, deserted to an island in the river, and there fortified themselves so securely that the colonial authorities found it wise to make terms with them. Thenceforward a body of these partially free half-breeds continued to dwell in Cuyuni at the base of the falls.[1]

In short, at no time is there record of any cultivation in the Cuyuni above the lowest falls, excepting only the bread-

Essequibo. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 87; Atlas, map 60.) The lands "in Mazaruni" sold by this Abraham Van der Cruysse in 1759 and 1761 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 113; Extracts, No. 215), lay not in the Mazaruni proper, but north of the united Cuyuni and Mazaruni below their confluence; for not only is Van der Cruysse set down in the map of 1748 as the owner of the lands at the junction of these rivers with the Essequibo, but the creeks "Cattony," "Simiery," named in the transfers are well-known streams on this shore. (Atlas, maps 60, 66, 70.) In the report of the British Guiana Land Commissioners in 1855 (see note, p. 303), translating a Dutch record of 1773, certain lands are described as "situate in the Upper Massarouney, commencing from the front lands of the widow P. de Wey to the upper corner of Calico." But here "the Upper Massarouney" can only mean the Mazaruni in general—in this case, below the confluence of the Cuyuni; for, as the Commissioners said, "the Calico Creek is well known, being situate on the west bank of the river Massarouney nearly opposite the Peual Settlement." This case is the clearer because, as appears from the same report, the original grant of this land (to Jan Heraut, in 1759) described it merely as "the abandoned place at Calekkoe, in Maseroeny." The claimants, in 1855, defined it as "a tract of land between Essequibo and Masserooney, designated on the chart of Bouchenroeder as lot No. 11." By 1773 it was all very far up, in the thought of those at the center of the colony.

[1] This is Hartsinck's story (*Beschryving van Guiana*, i, 272). But cf. Netscher, p. 112; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 109, 114, 118, 120. The maps of Storm (Atlas, map 60), of Heneman (map 64), and of Hartsinck (map 54), show their name attached to a creek joining the Cuyuni here from the south. Only those of Hartsinck and of Bouchenroeder (map 70) show a Creole Island. I am sorry that while with the documents I did not take more pains to get at the root of this matter. That they dwelt, however, somewhere here at the foot of the falls, all agree.

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grounds of the Cuyuni post during the brief periods of its existence.[1]

But, before taking up the vexed question of the Cuyuni posts, it will be well to point out what is known of the colony's earlier relations with the upper Cuyuni. The earliest mention of the river I have found in the Dutch records is that in Commandeur Abraham Beekman's letter of June 28, 1680, when that river, temporarily closed by an Indian war, is called "our provision chamber."[2] From letters of the following years it appears that not provisions alone were gathered there by the Company's "old negroes," but hammocks, balsam, and other Indian products.[3] It appears, too, that the Dutch were not without competitors; for the Spaniards bought up copaiba,[4] while the French made forays from the Barima into the Cuyuni and carried off the hammocks and all the other wares.[5] The latest of these passages, that of 1686, speaks of old Daentje, the negro runner who brought these tidings, as coming from "the savanna, up in Cuyuni, of the Pariacotten;" or, as it may quite as well be translated, "from the savanna up in Cuyuni, from the Pariacotten." And, in an earlier passage, mention is made of the driving off of the "Pariacotten" by the French, much to the detriment of the copaiba trade, since it was these who gathered the balsam from the trees. Now,

[1] When, in 1837, an Englishman (Hilhouse) first went up the Cuyuni, he wrote: "I can find no traces of any one having preceded me in the survey of the lower part of this river." And, having described in his journal the first day's ascent, to the head of the Camaria Falls—"we ascended this day," he thinks, "fully seventy-seven feet"—he declares that "it is evident that colonization can never be attempted on this river: the first day's journal determines that." "Beyond all other rivers," he avers, "the Cuyuni is the most difficult and dangerous of ascent."—(*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1837, pp. 446–454.) Yet Hilhouse was no "tenderfoot:" he had long been colonial surveyor and protector of the Indians.

[2] Extracts, p. 150.

[3] Extracts, pp. 151, 155, 158, 159, 162, 172.

[4] Extracts, p. 161.

[5] Extracts, pp. 172, 182; cf. also pp. 159, 160.

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"Pariacotten" is evidently but the Dutch form of the more familiar Spanish word Pariagotos,[1] Paria Indians, the name of a tribe well known on the banks of the Orinoco. Paria was the earliest name by which the region of that river was known to Europeans. Raleigh, in 1595, at the mouth of the Caroni, heard of the Eparagotos as a great inland nation.[2] They were the first to yield to Spanish missionary effort in these parts; and in 1682, according to a contemporary record, there were "in the city of Guayana two villages of Indians of the nation of the Pariagotos, gathered from those who dwell in these environs."[3] Indeed, to these Spaniards the Pariagotos were so preeminently the Indians of the country that they received the alternative name of Guayanos,[4] by which they were more commonly called. It was these, if we may judge from the fact that the mission villages were made up of these, whom the Capuchin missionaries found in the savannas of the Yuruari when in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century[5] they pushed their work over the divide from the Orinoco. From the banks of the Caroni to Palmar all the missions were of Pariagotos. In default of aught to the contrary, it seems fair, then, to suppose that the savannas which stretch from the

[1] *Gotos* means a tribe, a people. Cf. Schomburgk, in his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 77, note.

[2] *Discoverie*, ed. Schomburgk, p. 80.

[3] Strickland, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question* (Rome, 1896), p. 1.

[4] To the Capuchin missionaries, at least, these names were synonymous. Cf., e. g., Strickland, pp. 59, 71 (where the "*ó Pariagotos*," added to Gnayanos in the first item of the list, is undoubtedly meant to apply also to the remainder) or, p. 9 (where the Indians of Cupapuy, known from all the lists to have been Gnayanos, are called Pariagotos). So, too, Fray Caulin, long a resident of Guayana and more than once provincial of the neighboring missionaries of the Observant order, writing in 1759 his *Historia de la Nueva Andalucia*, describes as of Pariagotos ("*de nación Pariagótos*") the missions "Caroni, Santa Maria, Cupapny, Palmar, San Antonio, Alta-gracia, and Divina Pastora," which from all the Capuchin lists are known to have been made up of Guayanos.

[5] See the table of these missions in vol. iii, pp. 215–217.

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hills north and west of the Yuruari to the forest east of the Curumo and indefinitely toward the banks of the Cuyuni may as a whole or in part have been known in 1686 to the negro scouts of the Dutch colony as "the savanna of the Pariacotten," or, if the other translation be correct, as the "savanna up in Cuyuni" where the Pariacots were found.[1]

A "savanna up in Cuyuni," at least, the Dutch knew; for of this, though it is not again coupled with the name of the Pariacots or with trade in Indian products, we hear often enough.[2] In 1687 the Essequibo governor wrote the Company that "all the old negroes are off for their respective trading places among the Indians, to wit, six for annatto dye, two for copaiba, and two for letter-wood and provisions."[3] It is not improbable that the destination of one or more of these was the savanna up in Cuyuni; but no destinations are specified. The next mentions of the Cuyuni are all in connection with a very different traffic. In 1693 the West India Company, replying to some letter which, I fear, is lost, congratulates the Essequibo governor on having "discovered up in the river of Cuyuni [a place for] trading in horses."[4] The trade there, they add, must be kept a monopoly of the Company. This, too, suggests a savanna; for it was the want of pasturage which forbade the rearing of horses in the Essequibo. But

[1] The translation "Pariacot savanna" is supported by the presence, on the little map handed to the West India Company in 1750 by the Essequibo governor and said by him to be a copy of one made by the Spanish Jesuits, of the name "Savane Pariacott." The region it seems to mark lies north of the upper Cuyuni and to the westward of the branch called by this map "Meejou." It must be because the editors of the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" understand here by this the Yuruari that in their map they show a "Pariacot Savannah" southwest of the Yuruari. But, for reasons which will be set forth later in this paper (see pp. 380, 387), it seems to me certain that the "Meejou" is the Curumo.

[2] Cf., e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72.

[3] Netscher, p. 376.

[4] Extracts, p. 194.

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no savanna is mentioned. By 1697 the horse traffic in Cuyuni had grown less important, as the commandeur reports, because of the equal cheapness with which horses could be fetched "from Orinoco"[1]—a phrase which would seem to imply that the horses obtained up in Cuyuni were not smuggled in from the Spaniards,[2] but which may mean only that the sea route had now been made safe by the general peace of Ryswick. In May of 1701 the commandeur reports "the horse trade up in Cuyuni less brisk than heretofore."[3] But there was drawing on a great European war. The Court of Spain, hitherto the ally of the Dutch, was now leagued with France, their arch-enemy. In October, 1701, the Essequibo Court of Policy justified the purchase of horses from a Rhode Island trader by the plea that "all the lands where we carry on our horse trade are under the King of Spain, as we know by experience from the prohibitions we have already met in the trade to Orinoco."[4]

This anxiety was not groundless, even as regards the trade up in Cuyuni; for on September 17, 1702, the Court of Policy wrote to the Company that "the horses which are fetched from above are not to be got as hitherto, partly because of the expected war, whereby the Indians are stirred up against us, as we already have evidence, since all those which were obtained had swallowed some poison and have died."[5] Of this mortality among the horses Commandeur Beekman also wrote

[1] Extracts, pp. 196, 197.

[2] That even the Caribs, whose dwelling was the forest, might on occasion supply the Dutch with horses, appears from the complaint of the Capuchin prefect in 1758 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 236; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 7).

[3] Extracts, p. 198.

[4] Extracts, p. 201.

[5] . . . "*de paarden die van boven gehaalt werden niet als voor desen te bekomen zyn, eensdeels door den verwagteden oorlog waardoor de Indianen jegens ons opgemaakt werden, en reeds preuve van hebben genooten, die alle welke bekomen synde, eenig vergift hadden ingekregen ook gestorven ben.*"

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ten days later,[1] adding that "the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses on their territory." And the matter did not better itself. On June 14, 1703, the European war being then fully under way, Beekman wrote to the West India Company:

> I am very sorry to be obliged to inform you that, owing to the present war, no horses are to be got above here as hitherto, inasmuch as those Indians think themselves to stand under the crowns of Spain and France; and this trade is thereby crippled.[2]

In this very letter was inclosed[3] the muster-roll first announcing a Dutch post up the Cuyuni.[4] "Outlier in the river Cuyuni," it says—"Allart Lammers, of Meenen, outlier." In the margin is the note: "From the fort, six weeks by water."[5] In the following month, in accordance with the rule of sending by different bottoms duplicates of all papers, another copy of this muster-roll was forwarded to Holland,[6] but with a

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 69.

[2] Extracts, p. 205. The mention of France here along with Spain is to be explained, doubtless, by the fact that under its Bourbon claimant Spain was now virtually in the hands of France. The phrasing is, perhaps, only the commandeur's own, and chosen for Dutch ears.

[3] Extracts, No. 89.

[4] It is this muster-roll which is printed at the top of page 70 in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," but by an error it is there described as an inclosure in a letter of 1702. It is slightly misplaced in the volume in which it is now bound, but was demonstrably sent by the ship *De Jonge Jan* in June, 1703. The invoice of articles sent by this vessel accompanies it in the volume and shows this muster-roll as No. 9, corresponding with the number on the document itself. The same list shows the consignment of two hogsheads of sugar specially marked with a star, tallying exactly with the statement in Beekman's letter of June 14, 1703, sent by this ship.

[5] "*Van t fort 6 weeken varens.*"

[6] It is this muster-roll which is printed at the foot of page 70 in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3;" but the date "June 19, 1703," there attached to it is an error. It bears no date, but was transmitted by the ship *Pinnenburg*, July 27, 1703, on whose list of consignments it appears as No. 4, with which number it is itself also docketed. (This list is now document No. 97 in the volume.) The muster-roll of this date printed in my own transcripts (Extracts, No. 89) is from a duplicate of the same date, found at the Hague. Careful comparison of this with the London manuscript shows them almost precisely alike—the title printed in the Blue Book having been supplied by the editors, and the "90" and "9" for "40" and "4," with one or two other slight variations, being oversights of transcription or of the press.

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slight variation in the note as to the location of the Cuyuni post. It now reads: "Up in the savanna, six weeks by water."[1] The pay-roll of the colony,[2] made up at the close of the fiscal year, but not sent to Holland till some months later, brought more details. "Allart Lemmers, of Meenen," says this circumstantial witness, was made outlier in Cuyuni May 20, 1703, but on account of his "brutalities"[3] was removed on October 1, 1703, and reduced to the rank of a sailor on the commandeur's yacht, remaining there till August 10, 1704, when he was allowed to go back to Holland.

This is all we know of it. Neither the open correspondence of the West India Company with its colony nor its extant secret minutes show any mention of this post; and it is half a century before a Cuyuni post is again heard of. The pay-rolls,[4] continuous from this point on, and confirmed by frequent muster-rolls,[5] show, beyond a doubt, that for the time this was the end of it.

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[1] "*Boven int savaen 6 weeken vaarens,*" reads the London manuscript.

[2] Extracts, p. 207.

[3] The word meant less in Dutch than now in English. "Insubordination" or "insolence" would perhaps be better than the literal translation. Half a century later the next postholder in Cuyuni was dismissed on a similar charge of misconduct. "His brutality," wrote the governor (the same Dutch word is here used), "makes him capable of doiug mischief amongst the Indians; and he, too, was shipped back to Europe." (Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.)

[4] Beginning in 1700, the only years unrepresented by these pay-rolls down to the loss of the colony in 1796, are 1735, 1737, 1761, 1762, 1779, 1795. In 1774 (owing to a quarrel between Director-General and Commandant) the postholders and byliers are not given, aud in two or three of the pay-rolls a half-year's accounts only are found—including, however, all open accounts. There are muster-rolls for all the years thus lacking, except 1761, 1762; and for 1762 there is a colonial directory, giving full statistics of the posts. For the year of reoccupation, 1802–3, there is a list in Governor Meertens's journal (under July 5, 1803). From the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, our information as to the number and *personnel* of the posts is certain, and virtually complete.

[5] The muster-rolls are more irregular as to date than the pay-rolls, but most of the years of the eighteenth century are represented by at least one. Those extant from the half-dozen years following 1703 are respectively of August 10, 1704, Juuc 18, 1705 (date of letter of transmission), June 24, 1706, July 30, 1706, October 20, 1707 (date of letter of transmissiou), January 1, 1709. None of these mention a Cuyuni post, which first appears again iu that of April 14, 1755.

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A post in Cuyuni, up in the savanna, six weeks by water from Fort Kykoveral, manned only by an outlier, from May 20 to October 1, 1703. Not, as has been hastily asserted, in the "Pariacot savanna." That—if there was such a savanna—is not improbable; but it is purely inference, lacking all documentary proof. "The savanna" implies either some well-known savanna, or the savanna region of the upper Cuyuni in general. The "Pariacot savanna" had been mentioned but once, if at all, in the past quarter-century of the colony's correspondence, and, if a special savanna, could hardly be well-known to the Company; but, as we have seen, if the phrase really existed, it may best have meant the savanna region of the upper Cuyuni in general. There is then little in the direct evidence to guide us as to the site of the post. Six weeks should, by the criterion of later journeys, have sufficed to take the postholder quite to the Orinoco[1]. He might, at least, in that time have reached any point in the savanna. The phrase, "by water," should, perhaps, not be too closely pressed, since his journey thither must, in any case, have been mainly by water; but, it may be noted that all other colonial posts, earlier or later, kept to the edge of navigable water, and this venturer so far afield was surely not less likely thus to secure his retreat.

If one would conjecture the exact site of the post, one must turn for help to the circumstances. As we have seen, the only traffic in the upper Cuyuni which had lately found mention in the colonial correspondence was that in horses. These, as the power used in working the sugar mills, were an essential to

[1] Compare, for instance, that of Lopez de la Puente in 1789 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 337–339). To be sure, La Puente had a generous number of oarsmen, and the same may be said of the expedition of Bonaldes in 1758; but the postholder, too, could doubtless count on Indian help, abundant and skillful. It must, however, be remembered that he had his wares to transport, and may well have planned to barter by the way.

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that industry which was the life of the colony—a thing without which, as Commandeur Beekman wrote in June, 1803,[1] in speaking of the war's hindrance of their importation, the colony would be forced into ruin. And what special anxieties as to the supply were just now caused by the attitude of the Indians in the upper Cuyuni we have also seen. It is surely not strange that the two latest historians of these colonies should associate the new post with the traffic in horses.[2] If this inference be just, then certainly the most likely base for that post-holder's operations would be the point where the horses could best be delivered and shipped. To this end, in view of the grave dangers of the rapids and the difficulties of sustenance on the long water journey, there would doubtless be sought, first, the most navigable route, and then the lowest point where this was reached by the savanna. In such case, the Curumo was more likely to be traversed than the Yuruari; not alone because it is a more navigable stream and a much shorter route to the savanna, but because the falls in the Cuyuni above its junction with the Curumo are especially difficult and dangerous.[3]

[1] Extracts, p. 204.

[2] Netscher, p. 92; Rodway, i, pp. 49–50. Both these writers, however, go further than the evidence warrants, the former represeuting the horses as "bought of traders from Spanish Guiana," the latter declaring the post "established for the purpose of bringing horses from Spanish Guiana." These may be plausible inferences, but they are inferences only.

[3] The Spanish officer Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who in 1788–89 made such a comparative examination of these rivers as no other is known to have done, reported that "the river Curumo is navigable the greater part of the year for sailing-boats and canoes, and in flood time even for large vessels. By this river there is a great saving of rapids in going to Essequibo, which abound iu the Yuruari and Cuyuni to the mouth of the Curumo." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3", pp. 329–332, 337–339). The Curumo, he says (p. 338), speaking of it at the place near Tumeremo where it is crossed by the savanna, "is quite navigable, without rapids, unless the fierce summer dries it up, as they say, but only for a short time." So, too, the English party from Demerara which in 1857 went up into the Yuruari gold region learned that the journey might be considerably shorteued "by avoiding the Yuruari and proceed-

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The savanna crosses the Curumo[1] at a point near its junction with the Mutanambo, not far from the later site of Tumeremo. It was near this point that the road made by Courthial forty years later for the introduction of horses and cattle into Essequibo entered the forest.[2] It is here or hereabout, as it seems to me, that, if one must hazard a conjecture at all, the Cuyuni post of 1703 is most likely to have been placed, and probably on the west bank of the stream.[3]

But there is one consideration, at least, which makes all such guessing hazardous. It is not certain that a site for this

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ing . . . by the Cooroomoo Creek to Toomeremo, where horses can he had to proceed to Tupuquen." On reaching the creek they found it impassable, owing to the exceptional dryness of the season; but they were told that "in the wet seasou Tupuquen can he reached in three days by this creek." They were a full week making their way up the Cuyuni from this point to the mouth of the Yuruari, finding the Yacami Rapid especially difficult, while "above that the river was oue confused mass of islands and rocks and one continuous series of falls and rapids." Aud in the Yuruari they "came to a serics of rapids, caused hy the river pouring over most enormous beds and hlocks of granite, which much exceed in height, and are much more difficult of ascent, than any met with in the Cuyooni." (See the journal of Mr. Campbell, one of the party, iu *Timehri*, June, 1883, pp. 120, 129, 132, 133.) How familiar the Dutch were with the Curumo route at the middle of the eighteenth century appears ahundantly from the complaints of the Spanish missionaries. "Being the lowest direct communication with the Spanish provinces," writes Hilhouse, who, first of all Englishmen, visited its mouth in 1837, "it was the old route of smugglers."

[1]Atlas, map 2. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338. Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 60. Campbell, writing in 1857 at a point below Tupuquen on the Yuruari, declares that "the country between this place and the Cooroomoo Creek is open savannah, over which cattle could easily be driven; and there is also a savannah on the opposite side of the same creek which extends for some distance and approaches the Cuyooni. It would not, therefore, be a very serious undertaking to make a road across this country by which cattle might he driven to Demerara." (*Timehri*, June, 1883, p. 138.)

[2]Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 91, 327.

[3]But for the greatness of the distance from the fort, I should in my historical map (Atlas, map 9) have located it conjecturally at the junction of the Curumo and the Mutanamho. That distance, however, coupled with what La Puente says of the navigability of the stream even above the uniou with the Mutanambo, has led me hesitantly to set it a little higher, at the confluence of another tributary. It is, however, wholly matter of conjecture whether the savanna skirts thus far the banks of the river: no traveler has yet described that quarter.

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Cuyuni post was ever selected or that the postholder ever reached the savanna. He was appointed, to be sure, on May 20, 1703. But the postholder of a new post might well be delayed by preparations, and May was not a favorite month for a voyage up river; but if, in view of the probable emergency, a prompt start is in this instance to be assumed, it must have been July before he reached his destination. If the "brutalities" for which he was dismissed were committed immediately on his arrival and reported to the governor at once, the order for his recall could barely, even with all allowance for swifter downstream travel, have brought him back by October 1, the known date of his discharge. It is possible, of course, that his discharge was made to date from the arrival of the complaint or from his receipt of the recall; but so to condemn without a hearing, and on Indian evidence, hardly suits with Dutch practice. In any case, there remains the possibility that he embroiled himself with the Indians *en route* and failed to reach his destination, or, reaching it, had not yet established himself at any site.

What throws an air of mystery about the whole matter is the total silence both of the commandeur and of the Company. Such silence as to a new post is almost or quite without a parallel,[1] and, taken in connection with the disappearance of that dispatch of a decade earlier which reported the discovery of the new source of horses, it suggests the possibility of a

[1]The Demerary post was perhaps inherited in 1771 from Berbice; but in the case of the Mahaicony a little later, of the Pomeroon post in 1679 and in 1689, of Arinda in 1736, of the restored Cuyuni post in 1766, and even in the case of mere changes of site, there was explicit correspondence between the governor and the Company. When in 1684 and again in 1744 a post on the Barima was suggested, or in 1746 one on the Cuyuni, it was in terms which suggested a need of the approval of the Company. It is only of the Cuyuni post of 1754 that we first learn after its establishment (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103), and even here in terms which imply an earlier knowledge by the Company.

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correspondence too confidential to find a place in these extant bodies of letters. Yet the frequent loss of ships and of papers in these times of war must be remembered.[1]

The discontinuance of the post in Cuyuni finds no direct explanation in the documents. But we know whence the colony was supplied with horses. In November, 1703, we find Beekman buying twenty-eight from an English ship, and in August, 1704, thanking the Company for their relaxation in such times of emergency of their prohibition of trade with the English. In April of that year the Company wrote that it had gained from the patroons of Berbice permission for Essequibo to buy horses from those shipped thither. But in 1706 they were still being procured from up the Cuyuni, though there was complaint of their mortality on the road.[2] In October, 1707, the commandeur complained that they could no longer be got thus from above so conveniently and in such quantity as need required.[3] It is the last mention I have found of the importation of horses by this route.

For long one hears no more of the upper Cuyuni, save now and then of the pursuit and capture there of an escaping slave.[4] The Company's monopoly of the trade in Indian slaves there was strictly insisted on,[5] though the yield was small; and in 1731 the directors, who had not followed the advice given them in 1722 by the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, to establish coffee plantations above the falls,[6] asked the colonial authorities if these rivers could not be put to some further use.[7] They replied only that the rapids made plantations there impossible.[8]

[1] In 1708 (May 2) this had proved so serious that the Company required the sending of letters in triplicate, instead of duplicate, while the war lasted.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72.

[3] Extracts, p. 208.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 71, 72. Extracts, pp. 233, 272, 273.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 82.

[6] Extracts, p. 248.

[7] Extracts, p. 254.

[8] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 83.

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But when a few years later there arrived in the colony as secretary the energetic young engineer officer, Storm van 's Gravesande, another use for these rivers was suggested. He noticed there signs of mineral wealth, transmitted specimens, and urged the sending over of a mining engineer.[1] Early in 1741 this miner, one Thomas Hildebrandt, arrived; and until the middle of 1743 investigations were carried on vigorously under his direction, both in the Mazaruni and in the Cuyuni.[2] His letters, and especially his journals, transmitted to the Company, give with prolix minuteness the method and the place of his researches. In the Mazaruni he went no further up than a little above the plantation Poelwijk, scarcely to the lowest rapids. In the Cuyuni, which promised better, he pushed his explorations much farther. The highest point reached by him was a creek called "Moroko-Eykoeroe" (Moroko Creek), where he opened a copper mine. The place was some two days distant from Kykoveral,[3] and, so nearly as can be determined from his description, was on the right or south bank of the river,[4] probably somewhere near the head of what appears in modern maps as the island of Suwaraima.

To facilitate his work and "to escape the great danger of the falls," Hildebrandt constructed a road through the forest from the indigo plantation, at the head of tide-water, to the

[1] Extracts, pp. 281–285.

[2] Extracts, pp. 285–301.

[3] On his first journey up the river, prospecting as he went, it took him several days to reach there; but he afterwards repeatedly sent a boat thither and back from Cartabo in a little less than four days, and his own later trips thither tally with this. (Extracts, pp. 287–292, 294–298, 300.)

[4] True, he speaks of the Blaauwenberg, or Blue Mountains; and on the Spanish map handed in by Storm van 's Gravesande in 1750 the Blaauwenberg is a range north of the Cuyuni. But more than one sentence of Hildebrandt suggests that to him the Blue Mountains were on the other bank as well. Owing to the bend in the course of the stream, hills which at this point are south of the Cuyuni would, as seen from the lower river, seem to be north. The range (only a few hundred feet in actual height) possibly crosses the river. Few of the names he mentions can be identified on the maps.

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still water above the first great series of rapids,[1] and planned to build another stretch yet higher upstream.[2]

The mines, however, did not speedily pay. Hildebrandt's brutal manners alienated superiors and subordinates, and drove the slaves to desertion. In 1743, after an alleged attempt to run away himself, bag and baggage, up the Cuyuni to Orinoco, he was packed off home to Europe. This was the first and the last of Dutch attempts at mining in the Cuyuni.[3]

In 1746 there was attempted in that quarter another enterprise of not less promise. A Frenchman named Ignace Courthial, originally perhaps from Martinique, but long an explorer and trader, not to say a smuggler, in this frontier district, was by the colonial authorities permitted, though not yet a citizen of the colony or a subject of Holland,[4] to cut a road through

[1] Extracts, pp. 299, 301. In reporting it to the Company he calls it "a small path, such as could be traveled by men." It appears from his journal that its breadth was 1½ fathoms. When, in 1789, the Spaniard Lopez de la Puente made his raid down the river, he found here a road—perhaps that opened by Hildebrandt—from "the mouth of the creek Tupuro," "the head of the rapid Camaria," to the foot of the lowest fall. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338.)

[2] Extracts, p. 300.

[3] The statement of Mr. Schomburgk, copied by many, as to an attempt at mining here in 1721 is an error, caused, perhaps, by connecting these operations of 1741–1743 in the Cuyuni with the attempt of the West India Company in 1721 (mentioned by Hartsinck, i, p. 231) to encourage the discovery of mines in Essequibo. In 1742, while Hildebrandt was at work, the Company wrote the governor of a rumor that an old slave bought from the Spaniards and emancipated had revealed to one Steynfels the existence of "a rich mineral mountain situate toward the side of Orinoco," and instructed him with all secrecy to investigate this; but nothing seems to have come of it. (Extracts, p. 294; cf. also p. 369.)

[4] That Courthial was in March, 1746, not yet a citizen of Essequibo is implied in Storm's phrase "one Ignatius Courthial" (instead of the usual "an inhabitant of this colony") in reporting to the Company the granting of his petition. But we have besides Courthial's explicit statement to the Company in August, 1748, that he had been "only about two years" their subject, and that he did not become so until after several interviews with the governor—an acquaintance which Storm's letter of March 19, 1746, by no means implies. The "admittance to this colony" ("*entrée en cette collonie*"), which he says he had been granted, implies only admittance for trade; *access* would perhaps be a better translation. Mr. Rodway's statement, amplified from General Netscher's, that Courthial had been one of Hildebrandt's miners, is, I think,

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the forest to the savannas of the upper Cuyuni, in order thus to bring in mules, horses, and cattle from Orinoco.[1] As the Company's post in Demerara was no longer needed there, that river having just been opened to colonists, the governor proposed to remove it to this Cuyuni road and charge it not only with trade there, but with the collection of import dues on the animals brought in; but where on this road he meant to place the post he does not say.[2] The Company approved his plan;[3] but it is clear from the pay and muster rolls that for some reason it was not carried out.[4] It is possible that, as in the case of the post at the same time projected for the Barima, he could not find a trusty postholder. In December of 1748 Courthial himself had gone up the Orinoco after some hundreds of cattle and mules;[5] but his thought was now of a great stock ranch in the savannas of Berbice and Demerara, where he would himself raise all the beasts needed by the Dutch colonies.[6] This project, saddled with an ambitious scheme to make himself

an error. I have nowhere met his name among Hildebrandt's reports, and it is quite inconsistent with his own review of his career. (Rodway, *History of British Guiana*, i, p. 130; Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 118; Extracts, pp. 318–321.) That he may have gone with the miners sent in 1746 to investigate in the upper Essequibo (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 87, 88) is not improbable; but, in that case, it was doubtless as a guide.

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86, 327. Extracts, pp. 318–321. Atlas, map 61.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 86.

[3] Extracts, pp. 304, 305.

[4] It is true that in 1770 several Capuchin Fathers and a couple of Spanish functionaries testified at Santo Thomé that the Cuyuni post destroyed in 1758 had existed since 1747 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281–290; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 187–213); but it is more likely that these could be mistaken, borrowing the error one from another, than that such a post should exist unknown to pay-rolls and muster-rolls, and unreported by the governor either by letter or in the explicit account of the colony submitted by him in person in 1750, or that, in such case, the Cuyuni post could in 1755 appear on the muster-rolls as the "new post." It will be noticed that these same Spanish witnesses agree in stating that tidings of the post did not come to Spanish ears until 1757.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 90.

[6] Extracts, pp. 318–324. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 102.

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the founder of a landed family, was, though long considered, never accepted by the Company; but of his road to Orinoco I find no later mention in the extant records of the colony.[1] In 1755 we find him importing cattle by water.[2]

A Cuyuni post, indeed, was not long after established, but not on Courthial's road. On November 1, 1754, according to the pay-roll, Johannes Neuman, of Thaube, was taken into service as outlier in the river Cuyuni.[3] It was the time of the great panic over the rumor of a projected Spanish invasion. Fears were somewhat allayed, but on October 7 the Essequibo Council had learned that the commander of the troops in the Orinoco had caused a fugitive Dutchman there to make him a drawing of the course of the Cuyuni.[4] On November 26 the Director-General speaks of having sent spies to the Cuyuni, and of a promise of the Indians there that they will well guard the passage.[5] What was the connection, if any, between all this and the new post, or what, if anything, the earlier grievance of the approach of the Spanish missions may have had to do with it is matter for inference only.[6] In 1750, the governor being then in Holland, the acting governor, in speaking of these Spanish missions, had deprecated the opening of a trade in cattle with them "unless a good Post

[1] For a Spanish reminiscence of it in 1787, see Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 327. It is rudely laid down in the Spanish map handed in by Storm in 1750. (Atlas, map 61.)

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103.

[3] "*Johannes Neuman uytlegger in de Rivier van Cajoeny. Wint per maend f. 14. Daer voor door den Heer Directeur Generael den eersten November in dienst genomen.*" And, on the credit page, a statement of his wages earned "*sedert p^mo Novemb. tot heden.*" He appears accordingly in the muster-roll of April 14, 1755. In June, 1755, it was still "the new post in Cuyuni." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 104.)

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p, 102.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 102. (No. 115.)

[6] Complaint of them had been unceasing. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 86-88, 92-95, 99, 100. Extracts, Nos. 155, 157-161, 164, 167, 169, 173, 181.

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were established" on the route.[1] But this proposal "I have thought it best simply to mention," he said, "trusting that as the commandeur in person is near you he will have spoken thereof also." Commandeur Storm, now bearing the higher title of Director-General, had returned in 1752,[2] and perhaps not without instructions on this point. But there is in his correspondence no mention of this Cuyuni post until, in a letter of May, 1755, Storm speaks of "the Post located by order of the Council up in the Cuyuni," as if the Company already knew all about it. Extracts from the minutes of the colonial Council (Court of Policy) were from time to time transmitted to the Company; but if one reciting this action was forwarded it has now escaped from the records. An explanation of the new post is clearly not in the Director-General's intent; but the environment of this earliest mention of the new post is interesting. The Spanish invasion, he thinks, is at a standstill, but "they will try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to draw near us and shut us in."[3] "And it is certain," he adds, "that they have now complete possession of the creek Orawary,[4] emptying into the Cuyuni, which indisputably is your territory. The post located by order of the Council above in Cuyuni is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings."

Whether or no there is here aught to suggest the purpose of the post, there is apparently a clew to its site. The Orawary at once suggests the Yuruari, and of the dates and places of the Yuruari missions much is known. Yet, before weighing the testimony, it will be well to wait till the evidence is all in. Year by year the post reappears in the pay and muster rolls

[1] Extracts, p. 335.

[2] He landed in Essequibo on March 20, having been gone "exactly two years."

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103.

[4] Not "*Iruwary*," as in the Blue Book. Both in Storm's autograph, at London, and in the duplicate at The Hague, the "O" at least is beyond question.

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until 1758,[1] but without description of its site or distance. Once it is mentioned in a letter of the governor, but only to announce the discharge of an unworthy postholder. Suddenly, on September 9, 1758, he makes it the subject of a special letter.[2] Nearly all the Caribs of the Cuyuni, he writes, "came down the stream last week, and informed your Creoles,[3] living just below the great fall of that river, that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about one hundred strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon your post." They had carried off, the Caribs said, the postholder and bylier, with a Creole and his wife and children, and had laid waste "everything about the post."[4]

Yet, while protesting that the post was not on Spanish ground, the Director-General does not describe its site, but instead claims the whole river, citing in his support the map of D'Anville, whereon "you will see our boundaries themselves depicted, of which, it appears, he was instructed on good authority."[5]

[1] The pay rolls show Neuman alone at the post until 1757, when he was replaced as outlier by "Johan Stephen Iskes, of Germany, taken therefor into service November 15," 1757. Iskes had been an assistant miner under Hildebrandt, and had taken a large part in the work up the Cuyuni, as may be seen from Hildebrandt's journal. In 1758 "Guilliaam Patist de Bruyn," of Biervliet, first appears at the post as bylier. The muster-rolls in point are those of June 30, 1757, and of August, 1758—an extract from the latter is printed in Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 109–110.

[3] So I understand the word which in the Blue Book is translated "agents." In the manuscript, which in this case is not Storm's autograph, but a copy, is written plainly "*Onclen*," which is no Dutch word and can be explained by nothing, except, perhaps, the French "*oncle*." "Uncles" might conceivably mean old negroes; but it was not the old negroes who lived here. I think it a mere miswriting of *Criolen*, "Creoles." This error would be especially easy to one copying Storm's handwriting. To begin this word *Criolen* with a capital was customary. And it is well known that the Creoles then lived in Cuyuni, just below the falls. They are mentioned, too, by Storm himself in this very connection in later letters. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 114, 118, 120.)

[4] "*Alles rontom de post.*"

[5] . . . "*en daerop selver onze limiten afgeteekent zien, waarvan het schynt hy van goeder hand onderregt was.*" What makes this puzzling is that D'Anville's map does *not* give the whole river to the Dutch. (See Atlas, maps 39, 40.)

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But the West India Company was not so sure. At least, though in the official remonstrance drawn by them and at their instance addressed in July, 1759, by the States-General to Spain,[1] they stoutly protested that from time immemorial they had been in undisturbed possession of the Essequibo and its branches, and especially of its northernmost arm, the Cuyuni, they at the same time asked the governor to inform them exactly "where the aforesaid post was situated on the river Cuyuni."[2] The governor's reply was prompt and explicit. On September 1, 1759, he answered: "The post which was surprised in a fashion so contrary to the law of nations was situated about fifteen hours above the place where the Cuyuni unites with the Mazaruni." "Yet," he added, "this can not much matter; even if it had lain fifty hours higher, it was a thing which did not concern the Spaniards."[3]

Even before receiving this reply, the Company had further requested "a little map of the river Cuyuni, with indication of the places where the Company's post, and also the grounds of Old Duinenburg and of the Company's coffee and indigo plantations, were situated, and finally the place of the so-called Blaauwenberg, where the miners worked on our behalf."[4] This map, an extract from D'Anville's with these places indicated on it by the governor himself, was sent and received.[5] In addition to the sites of the post and of the plantations in the Cuyuni, he had marked also "the dwelling place of the half-free Creoles, to which," he said, "the Spaniards came very close."[6] The map, alas, can no longer be found; but this statement about the near approach of the Spaniards to the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 111. Extracts, pp. 381–386.
[2] Extracts, p. 381.
[3] Extracts, pp. 386, 387.
[4] Extracts, pp. 388, 389.
[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 114, 116, 117, 118. Extracts, p. 393.
[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 114.

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Creoles (whose place, at the foot of the lowest falls, is else known[1]) is a helpful clew to the site assigned on it to the post.

These three passages—that about the creek Orawary and the distance of the post from the Spanish dwellings, that stating its distance from the mouth of the Cuyuni, and that implying its nearness to the home of the Creoles—are, I think, the whole of the evidence in Dutch documents as to the location of this Cuyuni post of 1754–1758. But to these should perhaps be added the testimony of a Dutch witness who may possibly have had access to a document now lost. This witness is Jan Jacob Hartsinck, a functionary of the Amsterdam Admiralty, who in his well-known *Beschryving van Guiana*, published in 1770, deals at some length with the attempts to explore the region of the fabled Lake of Parima. "For the same reasons," he says, after speaking of the alleged repulse by the natives of certain Spanish expeditions of 1755, "our governor of Essequibo in the year 1756 sent thither an owl, or chief, of the Panacays, in order to get leave to send some white men, but in vain. He likewise at this time placed the post on the Cuyuni some 50 miles higher up, which in the following year was raided by the Spaniards, who carried off as prisoners the whites who there kept the post."[2] Now, Hartsinck in his preface expressly thanks a certain learned friend, whose modesty forbade the mention of his name, for accurate information regarding the explorations made in the colony of Essequibo and the neighboring rivers by order of Governor Storm van 's Gravesande.[3] This learned friend may not improbably have been that Professor Allamand, of Leyden, who is known, as Storm's own friend and correspondent, to

[1] See p. 305, above, and note, p. 322.
[2] *Beschryving van Guiana*, i, p. 265.
[3] *Beschryving van Guiana*, pp. xi, xii.

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have been informed by him on such points.[1] A certain verisimilitude is further given to Hartsinck's narrative by the fact that in the very letter in which Storm speaks of the creek Orawary and the distance of the Spaniards, he mentions the presence at his house of "the chiefs of the Panacay nation, dwelling up in Cuyuni."[2] But it will be noticed that Hartsinck's story is in contradiction not less with Storm's statement of 1755 as to the post's distance from the Spanish dwellings than with his statement of 1759 as to its distance from the mouth of the Cuyuni. Hartsinck's *mijl* was, as we know well, the normal one of fifteen to a degree—equal, that is, to 4 English nautical miles.[3] And Storm's hour (with him always a measure of distance, not of time) is equally certain; for, in the map prepared with his own hands for the Company in 1748,[4] the scale laid down is of *uuren gaens*, "hours of travel." They are apparently the same as those of D'Anville's scale[5]—equal to a little more than 2½ English nautical miles, a little less than 3 English statute miles.[6] If, then, the Cuyuni post was in May, 1755, only ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings, it would hardly have been moved 50 mijls higher in 1756.

But there is still other evidence to reckon with. Two other Dutchmen, best likely of all to know the site—the postholder himself and his assistant—were required by their Spanish captors to testify on this point; and their sworn statements, preserved in the Spanish archives, have lately been printed

[1] Extracts, pp. 387, 414.

[2] Extracts, p. 364.

[3] See, e. g., the scales on all his maps—his own work. (Atlas, map 54.)

[4] Atlas, map 60.

[5] Atlas, map 39.

[6] This is borne out by a comparison of Storm's map with that of Hartsinck. Taking, for example, the distance so often traversed between Kykoveral and Fort Zelandia, we find it a little less than 9 of Hartsinck's miles, a little less than fifteen of Storm's hours.

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both by Great Britain and by Venezuela.[1] Though open, of course, to some suspicion of duress on the one side or bad faith on the other and to the doubts attaching to testimony in a language foreign to the deponent, there is little or nothing in their contents to warrant incredulity.[2] The place where the post was, they said, was named Cuiba, or Cuiva,[3] and situated on the banks of the Cuyuni. The lands about it were flooded lands, unsuited to cultivation; but there were good lands higher up. Asked its distance from the "colony of Essequibo," one replied that, though very short, "three whole days were needed for the journey;" the other that it was "three days, more or less." This estimate of the distance seems in full

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246–248; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 26, 31.

[2] The fact that both the postholder and his assistant, on their release from Spanish custody, were in such ill plight physically that the under-postholder soon died and that the postholder was in 1762 barely able to walk (Blue Book pp. 117, 122) savors unpleasantly of the use of the torture—an aid by no means foreign to Spanish procedure. But the testimony itself is not of a sort to give color to this suspicion; it seems free both from tendency and from artificial concurrence. The one statement which seems in sharpest conflict with what is else known is that declaring the post to have been "maintained in that place for many years" (*muchos años*). The interpreter may not impossibly have misunderstood *eenige*, "some," for *menige*, "many"—though, for that matter, *menige* need mean no more than "several." And as neither the postholder nor his assistant had been at the place more than eight months (the "eighteen," in the British translation of the latter's testimony, is but a misprint—conflicting, at least, not only with the Venezuelan translation, but with the certified Spanish transcripts filed with the Commission) their testimony to this could in any case have no such value as that part of their depositions where they speak as eye-witnesses. It is to be noticed, furthermore, that the Orinoco Commandant himself, in a subsequent statement, reported these witnesses as testifying that the post was established "during the last few years" and "had been kept there for a few years." (Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 119.)

[3] According to the certified extracts from the Spanish archives filed with the Commission, the name is "Cuiba" in the deposition of the postholder, where it is once mentioned; "Cuiva" in that of his assistant, where it occurs twice. (To any who know Spanish it needs no pointing out that *b* and *v* were thus interchanged at will. "*Felix populus, ubi vivere est bibere et bibere est vivere,*" runs the apostrophe of an envious Frenchman—I owe the *mot* to Mr. Coudert.) The spelling is, of course, only an attempt to reproduce the sound of an Indian name: one may expect it in Spanish ears to take indifferently the form Cuiba, Cuiva, or Cuigua; or at Dutch hands to be spelled with an initial *K* or *Q* as freely as with a *C*.

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concurrence with the governor's reply to the Company as to the site of the post; for we know from his own lips that he reckoned "two or three days' journey" up such a river at "12 or, at the utmost, 15 hours."[1] But there follows in each of these depositions an explanation of this estimate which is very puzzling, in view of the geographical conditions. Both post-holder and assistant explain that three days are needed for the journey because the navigation is dependent on the tides (*mareas*) and takes its route through bayous (*caños*).[2] That this is the meaning of the Spanish seems to me clear. Such navigation by the aid of the tide, and through bayous navigable at the flood, was, as we abundantly know, a common thing in the coast districts and familiar to both Spaniards and Dutch. That the words could have suggested anything else to Spanish ears it is hard to believe. But the Cuyuni is not in the coast region; and, though the tide comes up into it, it comes only as far as its lowest falls, a couple of "hours" from its junction with the Mazaruni. Moreover, as its banks are high to its very mouth, a bayou is a thing else unheard of. Whatever may have been in the thought of the Spanish questioner, I can not believe that the two Dutchmen could have understood by "the colony of Essequibo" anything less than the whole body of plantations; still less that they could have taken as the starting point of their reckoning any place more remote than Fort Kykoveral, which up to this year 1758 had still its garrison, and which within the memory of one, if not of both men, had been the very center of the colony. I can only conclude, therefore, that the Spanish words must represent

[1] Extracts, p. 369.

[2] Iskes "*Responde: Que es muy corta sin embargo de que se gastan tres dias naturales, por razon de que solo se navega con las mareas, y su navegacion es por caños.*" Bruyn "*Responde: Que tres dias poco mas, bien entendido que solo se navega con las mareas por ser caños anegadisos.*" (Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246, 247; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 28, 30.)

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rather what the answer of the Dutchmen meant to their Spanish hearers than what they really intended to say. That the navigation of the Cuyuni, not less than that of the tidal streams, depends on the height of the water is a fact well known; and that certain channels are available only at flood for the passage of the rapids is adequately vouched for. That some such statement of the Dutch prisoners may have been misunderstood by the Spanish functionaries is at least more plausible than three days of tide water and bayous in the Cuyuni above "the colony of Essequibo;" and this thought may have guided the British translators in a rendering of these passages which is almost too free to be called a translation.[1] But this rendering explains, after all, only why the Cuyuni should be navigated at certain seasons, not why a given journey should take always three days; in fact, it proves rather that the required time should be greater at one season than at another. While convinced that there must here be a misunderstanding, I confess myself unable as yet to suggest a satisfactory explanation.

But, even yet, not all the evidence is in. The Spaniards who raided the post had also discovered where it was, and they have left on record its distance from their own starting-point. By the sworn testimony of these witnesses[2] it was about noon of the ninth day after their departure from the mission village of Yuruari when they first came upon a Dutchman, the under-postholder,[3] at a point in the river where, as

[1] They render thus the reason given by Iskes for the slowness of the journey: "The rivers could only be navigated when they were high, and then only in the channels." And that of Bruyn: "The navigation could only be carried on when the rivers were high, and the channels full of water." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 246, 247.)

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 242, 244; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 17, 19.

[3] "*Como á la hora del medio dia.*" On the night preceding they had arrived at a Carib village. "*Á los ocho dias de navegacion llegaron á una Rancheria de Indios Carives, . . . y al dia siguiente*" they captured the said Dutchman.

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he himself explained,[1] he was helping some Indians make a clearing;[2] and it was two days farther on down the river that they found the post itself.[3] The return journey upstream to the village whence they set out took them twenty-two days—thirteen by water, the rest by land.[4] No names of places are mentioned as landmarks on this journey; but, happily, we possess a detailed journal of a similar expedition made by the same route forty years later. This journal of Antonio Lopez de la Puente,[5] in 1789, gives us the day by day progress of the expedition from the mission village of Tupuquen to the mouth of the Tupuro, at the head of the Camaria rapid, less than a dozen miles from tide water on the Cuyuni. This journey of La Puente seems to have been a somewhat more leisurely one than that of 1758, and occurred later in the season, when the falling of the water probably made the downward passage a little slower, the upward a little swifter; but with slight allowance for these differences, the one seems a fair basis of inference for the other. The starting point was, indeed, not the same; and the site of the mission village of Yuruari is not known with certainty. Yet it may with fair probability be located on the river of its name at the confluence of the Aima, and it could not in any case have been far from this.[6] It was, then,

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 247; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 30.

[2] *"Responde que por Direccion de su cabo avia venido á dicho parage en solicitud de unos Indios para que los ayudase á travar en la Rosa que abrian y que a poco tiempo de estar alli llegaron los Españoles."*

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 242; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 17.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 243–246. " . . . *y que del expresado parage donde tenian su Rancheria que es en el Rio Coiuny gastaron á la Mision de donde salieron veinte y dos dias, trese de navegacion Rio arriva, y los Restantes por tierra.*" By an odd conjunction of accidents, the "thirteen" (*trese*) is omitted in the British translation and rendered "three" in the Venezuelan.

[5] Not to be confused with the Luis Lopez de la Puente of the first expedition.

[6] For a discussion of this site, on which no light is thrown by Dutch documents, I may refer to my paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol. iii of this report, pp. 205, 206). Tupuquen itself had been the site of an earlier mission until 1750, when the Caribs destroyed it; it was not restored till 1770.

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at most, less than a day above Tupuquen. As the expedition of 1789 loitered for half a day at Canayma,[1] this difference in starting point may almost be ignored.

Now, as we have seen, the expedition of 1758 reached the Dutch post at some time in the course of the eleventh day of its journey. That of 1789, at night of its tenth day had reached a point a little below "the mule pass of Notupicay," clearly the "Otupikai" of Schomburgk, the "Watoopegay" of Hilhouse, at the end of what Mr. Schomburgk calls "the second series of falls or rapids." Just three days later, at the end of the thirteenth day, it arrived at the Camaria rapid, the end of the journey. In returning from this point to Tupuquen (by way of the Curumo, the probable route also of that of 1758, since it traveled partly by land), the expedition used twenty-five days—fourteen and a half by water, the remainder by land; but two of the latter were spent in halts.

One might fairly infer, then, that the site of the Dutch post was somewhere within a day's journey below Notupicay (Otupikai); and it will not have escaped notice that this location answers remarkably to the governor's "fifteen hours" from the confluence with the Mazaruni and to the "three days" from "the colony of Essequibo" of the postholder and his assistant.[2] And, in singular confirmation of the conclusion to which this agreement points, there is found just here (and, so far as a careful search through travels and maps can determine, here alone) a place which still bears the Indian name of the post's site, Cuiva. On the maps of Mr. Schomburgk, and in both

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 337; Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 248.

[2] Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, in 1837, declares the Payuca Rapids "47 miles west from our departure"—i. e., from a point an hour below the lowest fall of the Cuyuni. Hilhouse had been four days reaching there, but his boat was overloaded, his crew made up, as he complains, of "half-starved Caribs" (it was during a famine), and he traveled only from four to six hours a day. Hilhouse's distances, in general, have been thought overrated.

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maps and text of the colonial geologists Brown and Sawkins, there appears, as a branch of the Cuyuni on its northern side, halfway from the Payuca Rapids to the mouth of the Cutuau,[1] a little river named Quive-Kuru, "Quive Creek."[2] A closer concurrence in the spelling of the Indian sound one could hardly expect.

In support of this conclusion as to the distance of the Dutch post from the Spanish missions might be cited the testimony,

[1] From the Payuca Rapids to the Quive Creek there is only a short stretch of smooth water.

[2] This Indian suffix, *kuru* or *curu*, is to be found in the names of many streams, both in the Cuyuni and Mazaruni regions and in the Carib region of the coast. That it means *creek* is but an inference from the fact that, in these Carib regions, it so constantly occurs in the names of creeks and that some of the most experienced travelers detach it by a hyphen from the rest of the name. It appears, as would be expected, under varying spellings: *kuru, curu, kura, cura, kourou, courou, kooroo, cooroo, kyuru, kuroo* and sometimes under the longer form of *icuru* (*aikura*, Dutch *eikoeroe*—the Dutch *oe* has the sound of the English *oo* or German *u*). Thus one finds on the maps the creeks or rivers Accourou, Acayuekyuru, Akekyuru, Amacura, Cura Curu, Corowa-aikura, Imanikurru, Ipotaikuru, Kashiwaikura, Maniakura, Muracaraicura, Murissi-curu, Wassicuru, Yanecuru, as well as Quivekuru—all these in varying spellings. One may add, perhaps, the slightly differing *caru* and *curi*, as in Maurocaru and Waicuri. Hildebrandt, the miner, calls the two creeks up in Cuyuni, in which he carried on operations, "Tiboko-eykoeroe" and "Moroko-eykoeroe" (Extracts, pp. 289, 290, 292). The Dutch planter sent in 1756 to take the testimony of a Carib chief in the Barima region, dates the document at "Aymara-Aykoeroe" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 107); and the Carib witness speaks of Tawa-aykoere, in Mazaruni, where his bread-plantation was. Aymara-Aykoeroe is very probably the Aymara-Cabura (Haymarakaboera, Moracabura, Haimuracabara) of other documents—a branch of the Moruca, lying thus at the border between Carib and Arawak—*cabara, cabura* (Dutch spelling, *caboera*), frequent in names of creeks, being perhaps the Arawak equivalent of the Carib *icuru*. Im Thuru knows in the upper Essequibo a creek which in 1880 he spelt "Haimarakura" (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1880, p. 473), but which in 1883 he changed to "Haimara-kuroo" (at page 22 of *Among the Indians of Guiana*, where the same passage is but reprinted). The form *Kuru* (*Curu, Cura*) is found also at the beginning of names, notably those of rivers or falls, as Curabiri, Curabele, Curacura, Curaparu, Curasanie, Curatokoa, Curiebrong, Curiye, Curiyopo, Curumo. In the scanty Carib vocabularies accessible to me I have found no word resembling this unless it be that for canoe, found in the English derivative "corial" and in sundry compounds chronicled by Adelung (*Mithridates*, iii, 2). The real meaning of the form is, after all, of less account to the present research than its separable character and its association with names of streams, which hardly admit of doubt.

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in 1770,[1] of those concerned in the expedition, that it was "seventy leagues" from the then extreme missions of Guasipati and Cavallapi; but, as this is in all probability only an inference from the duration of the journey, it can serve only as a confirmation of our reckoning.

But there is another statement of the Spanish witnesses to the site of the Dutch post which must be discussed more fully, not only because I believe it to have been misunderstood, but because it has an important bearing on the political significance of the expedition of 1758. The appeal of the prefect of the Capuchin mission, Fray Benito de la Garriga, in June, 1758, which led to the dispatching of the expedition, said nothing whatever of a Dutch post. What it complained of was the presence "at the mouth of the river Curumo" of certain Dutchmen buying slaves, though it did at the same time report a rumor of the Caribs that "three Dutchmen and ten negroes, with a large number of Caribs, are building houses and clearing the forest for the forming of a settlement in the Cuyuni." And the decree of the provisional Commandant of Guayana which created the expedition says likewise nothing of a post, but only that "on the island of Curamucuru, in the river Cuyuni," "there is a Dutchman named Jacobs, with a negro of the same nationality, living there established in houses and carrying on the inhuman traffic of enslaving Indians;" wherefore it instructs the expedition in question to proceed "to the said island of Curamucuru secretly for the purpose of apprehending the said Dutchmen."

Now, the expedition, so far as appears from the testimony of its members, never found any island of Curamucuru. It certainly never found a Dutchman named Jacobs. The name

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281–291. Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 187–217.

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Curamucuru (Curumo-curu?) seems to mean simply Curumo Creek; and I am fain to suspect that the Orinoco Commandant's deficient knowledge of the Carib tongue may have led him into an error. In any case it is probable, as was long ago suggested by British scholars, that this name has some relation to that of the river, and that the site it denotes is not far distant. It is true that, in a memorial addressed in 1769[1] to the King, Fray Benito, again prefect, stated that in the year 1758 he "reported to the Commandant of Guayana that in the Cuyuni River, under the guise of a post, there was a settlement of two Dutch families with house and plantations," and that "he sent a detachment to seize them,"[2] with more, showing that the capture of the post was in his thought.[3] But in the same paper "the prefect stated that other Hollanders had been domiciled at a point very high up the Cuyuni, near the mouth of the Curumo, not far from Cavallapi, and had since withdrawn."[4] If the prefect mentioned to the Commandant a Dutch post, it was in some communication yet unprinted; and,

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 117–119; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 141–150. In the Venezuelan publication this memorial of Father Benito is described (p. 141) as dated in 1760; and with this the certified Spanish transcripts submitted to the Commission agree. But this date is quite impossible, since the memorial mentions events of years as late as 1766. The British version of what seems the same memorial dates it in 1769, and this is doubtless right, though another document, described in the Venezuelan publication as of 1767 (id., p. 150), certainly seems to have been its letter of inclosure.

[2] "Que el año de 58, avisó el exponente al Comandante de Guayana que en el Rio Cuyuni con capa de posta estaban de asiento dos familias Olandesas con Casa y labranzas y que mandó á cojerlos y les hallaron uua patente del Governador con las ordenes que devian observar . . ."

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118. Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 147, 148.

[4] "Siguiendo su representacion el Prefecto expuso que otros Olandesas se avian domiciliado muy aca arriba de Cuyuni cerca de la boca de Curumo que no distaba mucho del Cavallapi y que despues se retiraron." (Cf. Venezuelan "Documents," p. 149.) This final clause is lacking to the document as printed by the Blue Book (p. 119), perhaps accidentally omitted. It is unimportant, as the tense of the verb implies the same thing.

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even if his memory be quite trustworthy and his statement correctly reported, it is nevertheless evident from the Commandant's order that, not the post, but the slave catchers at the mouth of the Curumo, were therein aimed at. The prefect never mentions "Curamucuru;" but he certainly could not confuse "the mouth of the Curumo, not far from Cavallapi," with the site of that Dutch post, which he himself declared "seventy leagues" from Cavallapi.[1]

The most plausible explanation, then, of the whole matter is that the Spanish expedition of 1758 was really intended for the arrest of a Dutch slave trader at the mouth of the Curumo, but that the Orinoco commandant by error defined the place as an island in the Cuyuni; and that his expedition, finding neither island nor Dutchman, pushed on down the river till other Dutchmen and a Dutch post rewarded their quest Nor can it affect the plausibility of this explanation that none of those concerned in the error cared later to point it out.[2] The enterprise having met with success, it was clearly good policy to make the most of it.

Before passing from this episode it will be well to look once more at the two passages which seem in conflict with the remainder of the evidence. In interpreting that about the creek Orawary and the post's distance from the Spanish dwellings, two assumptions have been made which more careful study shows unwarranted by the passage. In the first place, it is not certain that by Orawary the Yuruari is meant. Nothing in what we know of the advance of the missions in this year along this river warrants Storm's statement about its being taken into complete possession by the Spaniards; the only mission known to have been founded in 1755 on that

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 282. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 189.

[2] In the investigation of Dutch complaints, a decade later, by the Spanish Council of the Indies. (See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 280–294.)

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river is that of Yuruari (San Josef de Leonisa), and this, as is believed, above the site of Tupuquen, which had been occupied until 1750.[1] Nor is the Yuruari the only stream which resembles Orawary in name. At a point which *is* only some ten or twelve hours above the place (Cuiva Creek) where I believe the post to have stood, there joins the Cuyuni from the south the creek Toroparu, important as the route of an Indian path to the Puruni and so to the Mazaruni.[2] Now, it is not known that the Spaniards were ever in possession of this stream; but there is evidence that in the following year (1756) they were established in the Mazaruni,[3] and at a site which on quite other grounds is believed to have been at the junction of the Puruni with the Mazaruni.[4] Spanish occupation of such a creek would better have justified Storm's alarm than a new mission on the Yuruari, in whose upper valley the Capuchins had been established for a couple of decades.

But, admitting that the Yuruari was probably meant, it is further to be noticed that Storm does not say that the Spanish dwellings so near to the Dutch post were in the creek Orawary. True, the order of the sentences suggests this; but Storm was a diffuse and sometimes a hasty writer, and it would not be hard to cite from his letters graver lapses from continuity of thought than another interpretation would here require.

And, when all is said, there remains the possibility that he was mistaken—a solution less violent than that which would assume his ignorance of the distance of the post from the Essequibo.

As for Hartsinck's statement about the removal of the post 50 mijls higher up the river, it has perhaps been noticed that in

[1] See pp. 205, 206 of vol. iii.
[2] Mr. Schomburgk, in Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19.
[3] Extracts, pp. 369, 370.
[4] See pp. 400, 401, below.

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the letter of Storm which describes the site of the post there is a clause which in a carelessly written copy may easily have given rise to error. The site of the post, he wrote, "can not much matter; even if it had lain fifty hours higher up, it was a thing which did not concern the Spaniards."[1] A very slight change or misreading could make this mean "although I had placed it fifty hours higher up;" and a mistake of Dutch hours for Dutch miles is not a grave one.

But there is some reason to believe that a removal of the post up the river may indeed have been in prospect. It will be remembered that the Spanish expedition found the under-postholder two days above the post, and that he testified that he was busied there in helping some Indians make a clearing. He testified also, as did the postholder, that the lands about the post were not suited for cultivation, being marshy, though there were good lands higher up.[2] Now, it is at least not improbable that the clearing on which the under-postholder was engaged was intended as a new site for the post, and was that which the Capuchin prefect had reported as in progress.[3] And this conjecture is made much the more plausible by the fact that, when a few years later the Dutch post was reestablished, it was established, with bread grounds attached, at a point just two days above Cuiva Creek—at the island of Tokoro.[4] It is my belief that it was about being transferred to that island at its destruction in 1758.

The destroyed post was not at once restored. Both the colonial authorities and the West India Company hoped that the Spanish Government would make reparation for the act of

[1] *Al had deselve vyftig uuren hoger gelegen, was een saek die de Spanjaerds niet en raekte.* (Extracts, p. 387.)

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 247. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 30.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 235. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 5.

[4] For the proof of this see pp. 341–345 below.

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violence.[1] But they waited in vain. The postholder, with his assistant, sent by the Orinoco commandant to the governor at Cumaná, was at length released from Spanish custody. He was not sent back to the Cuyuni, however, but was given a subordinate position at another post.[2]

The Cuyuni was now, however, too familiar a route to be left open with impunity. A rascally colonist went up the river and misused the Indians under pretense of authority.[3] Spaniards or Spanish Indians repeatedly came all the way down to the Dutch plantations.[4] The Caribs, in dismay, were all withdrawing to the Essequibo.[5] Smugglers availed themselves of this door.[6] Runaway slaves found the river an open road;[7] they even began establishing themselves there.[8] Under these circumstances, it was not strange that in 1763[9] the governor should suggest to the Company the quiet reoccupation of the post in Cuyuni.[10] He recommended that a subaltern

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 119. Extracts, pp. 393, 394, 396.

[2] Down to 1760 he remained on the pay-roll as "outlier at the Company's late post in Cuyuni." On September 30, 1760, however, he was paid up, and then "discharged from service, and continues to live in this colony" (*uyt den dienst wort ontslagen, en in dese Colonie blyft resideren*). On February 1, 1762, he was again taken into service as bylier at Moruca. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 117, 122.)

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 113.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 117, 120, 130, 134.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 120, 121, 126, 148, 149.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 118.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 115, 118, 123, 126, 131.

[8] In a passage omitted by the British translators from the governor's letter of May 28, 1761 (Blue Book, p. 116—the passage immediately follows the second paragraph of the extract), he complains that "in the meantime the runaway slaves already begin to sojourn there, at present two of the Company's, with several others, being there, whom, up to now, in spite of all efforts used, I have not been able to get hold of." (*Ondertusschen beginnen reets de wegloopende slaeven sig daer op te houden, werkelyk twee van d' Ed: Comp. en eenige andere daer synde welke ik tot nu toe niettegenstaende alle aengewende devoiren niet magtig hebbe konne worden.*)

[9] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 123.

[10] "I could greatly wish," he writes in this passage (not all of which is given by the Blue Book translation), "that your further memorial to the States-General might finally have the desired effect, and that an end might be reached of that matter, for

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officer, with ten or twelve men, be placed there as a guard.[1] The Company at once approved this project; but its execution was delayed by the outbreak of the great slave revolt in Berbice and its spread to Demerara. In July, 1763, twenty soldiers were sent to aid in suppressing this revolt,[2] whereafter ten or twelve of them were to be used to garrison the post in Cuyuni. But it was long before any could be spared.[3] In June of 1764 the governor wrote of his hope to "make the necessary arrangements with the Caribs in Cuyuni to station an under-officer there with eight men."[4] But nothing could be done till the rainy season was over; and then Indians could not be had to aid in the reestablishment:[5] they feared the Spaniards. Yet they were at last won over by a promise of protection;[6] and, to make sure of their loyalty by providing for their support, it was resolved to plant breadgrounds at the post, which should be worked by disabled slaves no longer of use on the plantations.[7] The growing boldness of the Spaniards called for haste.[8] A postholder was found in the person of the corporal Pierre Martin, a Frenchman by birth, who on October 1, 1765, was engaged for this service and sent up the Cuyuni to make preparations.[9] It was, however, more than a year before the buildings and bread-

which I very much long. But could you not find it good that meanwhile, without use of the least violence, possession should be again taken of the post in Cuyuni?" (*Ik wensche seer UEGA nader memorie aen H. H. M. eyndelyk van een gewenscht effect sal wezen, en een eynde van die saek sal gemaekt worden, waer seer naer verlange. Maer soude UEGA niet goed konne vinden dat ondertusschen, sonder het minste gewelt te plegen, weder bezit van de Post in Cajoeny wierd genomen.*)

[1] Literally, "to guard it" (*tot bewaring deselve*).

[2] Extracts, p. 399.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 126, 130.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 128.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 134.

[6] Extracts, p. 404.

[7] Extracts, pp. 404, 406. Cf. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 137.

[8] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 134, 136, 138.

[9] Extracts, p. 450.

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grounds were ready; and though the postholder and his two assistants were on the ground before the end of 1766,[1] it was not until 1767 that they entered regularly on their duties.[2] In vain did the governor search for even a half-dozen soldiers for the garrison of the post;[3] he could find only Catholics and Frenchmen, and these he would not trust there. As early as March, 1767, there was a rumor that the post had been sacked by the Spaniards.[4] This proved a false alarm; but Spanish influence over the Indians was such that they would do nothing for the postholder, and even passed the post in their canoes in defiance of his summons to lie to for inspection.[5] In September there was again rumor that the post had been raided.[6] This was again an error; but the governor a few weeks later declared to the militia officers of the colony that there were no Indians left there, and that the new postholder could scarcely maintain himself.[7] In December the postholder, who had suffered much there from illness, asked on this pretext to be relieved;[8] and in February, 1768, on the ground that the Indians would have nothing to do with a Frenchman, he was allowed to withdraw, and was stationed elsewhere.[9] His place was never filled, nor were soldiers found for the post; the two byliers alone remained there, the elder in charge.[10] By

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 140, 141. Extracts, p. 422.

[2] Meanwhile a Creole had been stationed at the foot of the falls, with instructions to patrol the river, reporting monthly to the governor. (Blue Book, p. 139.) He was captured by the Spaniards, but escaped and resumed his duties on the river. (Blue Book, pp. 142–144.)

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 138, 139, 142, 144. Extracts, p. 428.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 144.

[5] . . . "*en selver wanneer hy de voorby gaende vaertuygen belast aen te leggen*"—the Blue Book translation, as will be seen, is not exact. (Blue Book, p. 144.)

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147.

[7] Extracts, p. 439.

[8] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 149.

[9] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 151–153

[10] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 158.

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February, 1769, one of them had reported to the governor the abduction by the Spaniards of Indians from above the post, and the threat of a raid, not only upon the post, but even into the Mazaruni;[1] and a month later the governor complained that the remaining Indians, frightened by this abduction, were drawing off.[2] Anxiety was now constant;[3] and early in May there came once more tidings of a Spanish attack on the post.[4] This news was speedily corrected by a letter from the senior bylier, reporting not an actual but only a threatened attack.[5] There was added the important information that he intended to remove the post to an island named Toenamoeto, lying between two falls, where it would be better and healthier, and that he had already begun a clearing there; and he inclosed a bill for the expenses of this clearing. Though both the Company and the governor were annoyed[6] at this high-handed action of the bylier, the step was not reversed. Fear, remarked the governor, often leads to mistakes; but "he is now there, and is much better protected against surprises"[7] — though he adds, "this is wholly contrary to my intention, since for good reasons I would gladly have had that post gradually farther up the river."[8] In June, 1770, the senior bylier, Jan van Witting, announced that the Indians were still drawing off from the Cuyuni; and in the same note asked for his own discharge at New Year's, when his time would be up.[9] He remained there, however, through the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 158.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 160. Cf. also p. 161.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 164.
[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 166.
[5] Extracts, pp. 454, 455.
[6] Extracts, p. 493. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.
[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.
[8] "*Hy is daar nu is veel beter bedekt voor surprisen maar tegen myn intentie volstrekt, wyl ik die Post om goede reedenen gaeren hoe langer hoe hooger op de rivier wilde hebben.*"
[9] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 176.

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following year and into the next, apparently undisturbed by the Spaniards.[1] Then his service was cut short by death; in the pay-roll for 1772 his decease is chronicled by the secretary, who adds that he could not learn the exact day of its occurrence. The second bylier, Gerrit von Leeuwen, seems to have served out his year and then returned to the ranks of the garrison.[2] Thus quietly, but forever, the post in the Cuyuni disappeared from the records of the colony.

Often as this third and last of the Cuyuni posts finds mention in Dutch documents during its troubled half-dozen years of existence (1766–1772), its site is never named save in the postholder's mention of its transfer to Toenamoeto, the island between two falls; and its distance from any other point is not once recorded.[3] It is true that its reestablishment was at the time commonly spoken of as a mere "restoring" or "replacing,"[4] but the establishment of bread grounds makes it unlikely that it was at the old site, which both the postholder and his assistant had in 1758 declared unsuited to cultivation.[5] Again Spanish records afford a help. In his letter to the King in 1769[6] the Capuchin prefect, Fray Benito de la Garriga, informs him that, "according to what the Indians tell us, . . . from the mouth

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 180.

[2] All this is gathered from the pay-rolls.

[3] No tenable argument can be drawn, I think, from a comparison of the dates of the postholder's letters with those of the governor mentioning their receipt. These letters of the governor, filling often thirty, forty, even fifty pages with the finest script, were the desultory work of many days, and the single date they bear (usually at the end) shows only when they were finally sealed and committed to the letter bag. The dates of their earlier pages and of their postscripts can only be guessed at, and the identity of their "yesterdays" and "last weeks" must be inferred from the context alone.

[4] The word used is "*herstellen*" or "*herplaatsen;*" only once (Extracts, p. 422), *verplaatsen*, "to remove to another place."

[5] Yet it is not quite certain that they meant more than unsuited to sugar cane or other commercial crops, not including the native cassava.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118. Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 147.

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of the Cuyuni, upstream from Essequibo, at eight days of navigation, they (the Dutch) have a guard of six soldiers, and it is said that in this distance of the eight days there are no plantations because the ground is sandy."[1]

With all allowance for the slowness of Indian travel when Indians travel alone, this must mean that the post was considerably above the former site, and, in view of Dutch silence on the point, it would be hard to believe, were there not from another source evidence more definite and cogent. When in 1837 Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, made his expedition up that river, the first trace he found of earlier occupation by white men was when early on the tenth day of his slow journey he reached "Tocro Island, where a white man, most likely a smuggler, is reported to have resided some years before."[2] The place is not hard to identify, because, according to his journal, it is midway between a well-known creek, "Torupaaru," and an equally well-known fall, the "Wohmuypongh." One of these he reached a day earlier, the other a day later. Four years later Mr. Schomburgk, approaching from the opposite direction and with a keen ear for all evidence of Dutch occupation, reached the same spot. Already before leaving the Barima he had "understood from some Indians, who were well acquainted with the Cuyuni, that there had been once a Dutch post at an island called Tokoro," which, he adds, "was much farther to the west than that part of the Cuyuni where, from the information I had received previously to my submitting the memorial on the boundaries of British Guiana, I considered the boundary line ought to

[1] "Segun noticias que nos dan los Indios . . . de dicha boca de Cuyuni, rio arriba de Esquivo, á ocho dias de navegacion, tienen una guardia de seis soldados, y se dice que en esa distancia de los ocho dias, no hay plantages, por ser tierras avenosas." The Venezuelan translation of this passage seems not only an impossible rendering of the Spanish, but is irreconcilable with the sentence just preceding.

[2] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii (1837), p. 449.

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cross to the river Cuyuni."[1] Just where he had been taught to look for it is suggested a little later in his journal, when (speaking of Dutch trade *via* the Cuyuni at the middle of the eighteenth century) he says, "It was at this period (1750–1760) that the Dutch possessions extended to the foot of that series of falls of which Kanaima is the most considerable."[2] Now, this is precisely the location of Hilhouse's "Tocro;" for, according to Mr. Schomburgk, the Wohmuypongh, or, as he spells it, the Womuipong,[3] is near the lower end of the Kanaima "series of falls,"[4] and if the island is in reality east instead of west of the point where the boundary line described by him in 1839[5] would cross the Cuyuni, this suggests only his ignorance of the precise geography of that river prior to his exploration of it. "About eight miles below Arakuna," where the falls end, Mr. Schomburgk himself (whose narrative betrays no knowledge of Hilhouse's) found "the island Tokoro (Tokoro-patti), where, towards the close of the last century, the farthest outpost of the Dutch was situated." "Although generations have elapsed," he adds, "the circumstance that a Dutch postholder once resided here has remained traditionary, and our guide, an old Waika, assured me that his father had frequently mentioned it to him, and that the postholder's name was 'Palmsteen.' The post was afterwards destroyed by the Spaniards and the postholder withdrawn nearer towards the cultivated part of the colony."[6]

Thus Mr. Schomburgk. He "reached in the afternoon the Toruparu," and a day or two later, less than two days before

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 216; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 12.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 224; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 18.

[3] Thus his map. His journal, as printed, has "Wounnipong" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1"), or "Wommipong" (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 5").

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 224; "Veuezuela No. 5, p. 19.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 184.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 224, 225; "Venezuela No. 5," p. 19.

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his arrival at the mouth of the river, at the head of "the third [and last] series of falls," he came to "the Cataract Tonomo, where the postholder resided after his station had been withdrawn from Tokoro Island."[1] Now, when it is remembered how well-nigh impossible it is that Mr. Schomburgk could have known anything of the mention, in a letter of the acting postholder nearly a century earlier, of the island of Toenamoeto, and how intrinsically probable it is, on the ground both of name and of situation, that that "island between two falls" was at this cataract Tonoma,[2] respect must grow for his Indian tradition. At first blush, "Palmsteen," the Indian's name for the postholder, seems far enough from Pierre Martin, which we know to have been the true one; but when one stops to think that by the Dutch this would have been pronounced "Peermarteen" (with the accent on the last syllable), and that these Indian tribes, like so many other peoples, fail to distinguish the liquids *l* and *r*, so that "Peermarteen" would be also "Peelmalteen," the unlikeness is not so great.[3] And when it is also borne in mind that Mr. Schomburgk was of course trying to make the word spoken by the Indian sound like a Dutch name, the resemblance makes more credible the Indian story. That the Spaniards destroyed the post of 1766–1769 is indeed unknown to us from the Dutch records; but, since the tradition of the withdrawal of the postholder implies that this destruction took place after his removal, it is anything but improbable.

That this island of Tokoro would also well answer to that

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 225; "Venezuela No. 3," p. 19.

[2] What the termination "*-oeto*" (-ooto, -uto; the Dutch *oe* is pronounced like our *oo*) may mean I can not say. Father Pelleprat reports a Carib word *auto*, "house." May there not earlier have been a rest-house there?

[3] In the Carib speech "the letters *l* and *r*," according to Adelung (*Mithridates*, Th. 3, Abth. 2), "are pronouuced alike and are interchangeable." The speech of the Waikas, to whom Schomburgk's informant belonged, is a variety of the Carib.

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spot, two days above the earlier post, where in 1758 the underpostholder was arrested while engaged, as he claimed, in helping to make a clearing, and that it is by no means impossible that even then a transfer to this site was in prospect, I have pointed out above.[1] If this inference be justified, it is no longer strange that, when reestablished, the post, with its bread grounds, was placed here without mention to the home authorities of any change of site.

In view of all this cumulative evidence and suggestion, no reasonable doubt can obtain, I think, as to the sites of this latest of Dutch posts in the Cuyuni. That it *was* the latest may, however, need some further demonstration. It never appears again in pay-roll or muster-roll, and no paid servant of the colony could have been stationed there. That it was not the intention of the West India Company to abandon it is shown by the provision for it, in the regulations for the reorganization of the colony in 1773,[2] of the stated postholder and byliers; and in the project of Heneman for the defenses of the colony in 1776[3] a garrison also is once more planned for it. But already in 1769 Storm van 's Gravesande had declared that, owing to the multitude of inland paths, the post was no longer of use;[4] and Trotz, who succeeded him as Director-General in 1772, was a disbeliever in the efficacy of posts for the stoppage of runaways.[5] Having authority to man the posts at his discretion, but obliged to report his action to the Company,[6] he never manned that in the Cuyuni

[1] See p. 336.

[2] Extracts, p. 500.

[3] Extracts, pp. 520–527.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 159, 160; cf. Extracts, p. 439.

[5] Extracts, p. 558.

[6] A resolution of the Ten, June 22, 1778, gave him express authority "*tot de aanstelling der vaceerende Byleggers en Posthouders plaatsen, met byvoeging, omme daervan, aan deeze Vergadering, met den eersten kennis te moeten geeven.*" It was but the confirmation of a power earlier exercised.

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at all, for he never reported it.[1] When in 1785, after the restoration of the colony by the French, Trotz's successor and the colonial Court of Policy were embarrassed by the return of the old Moruca postholder, Dyk, after they had chosen another for that post, they did indeed suggest that he might perhaps be stationed at the "old post in Cuyuni, still without a postholder."[2] But the suggestion was ignored by the Company, and we presently find Dyk filling the more edifying and diversified office of sexton, chorister, school-teacher, and comforter of the sick to the colony. With the transfer of the colony's center to the new capital in Demerara the Cuyuni seemed remote indeed, and in the last quarter of the century the river's name rarely appears in the colonial records. When in 1789 the Spanish officer Lopez de la Puente made his armed reconnoissance down the Cuyuni to its mouth, he found nobody on guard except a Carib, who dwelt at the foot of the lowest fall; him he carried off.[3] A year later, in 1790,[4] the same officer heard through the Indians that the Dutch had "thrown out an advance guard at the place Onore-rama, 5 or 6 leagues up from the mouth of the Cuyuni," but he counted this information "not very reliable;" and the absence of all confirmation of it in the Essequibo records justifies us in sharing his skepticism.

In short, then:

1. While the Dutch occupation of the mouth of the Cuyuni goes back to the earliest presence of the Dutch in the Essequibo, plantations were not pushed up that river until the eighteenth century, and were never at any time carried above the lowest falls.

[1] I need hardly say that his letters, which are all preserved, have been searched through with care.

[2] Extracts, pp. 584–586; cf. p. 588.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 338, 339; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 250.

[4] Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 61.

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2. Mining in the Cuyuni was attempted in the years 1741–1743, its farthest operations being about two days' journey from the mouth of the river.

3. Thrice for brief periods the Dutch maintained a post in the upper valley of that river—(1) in 1703, from May to September, at a point unknown, but in the savanna, and most probably on the Curumo; (2) in 1754–1758, at Cuiva (probably Quive-Kuru), three days' journey up the river; (3) in 1766–1772, first at the island of Tokoro (1766–1769), then at that of Toenamoeto, in the Tonoma Rapids (1769–1772).

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9. THE DUTCH IN THE MAZARUNI.

It was in the Mazaruni that Dutch settlement in the Essequibo began; for Kykoveral, though near its confluence with the Cuyuni, was always reckoned in the Mazaruni. In that river, under shelter of the fort, probably lay the earliest plantations.

Of these, at Van Berkel's visit in 1671, there were but three, of which the greatest was an hour[1] above Kykoveral,[2] doubtless, therefore, in the Mazaruni, near the head of tide water. By1687 the number of free planters had risen to eighteen,[3] of whom some two-thirds probably dwelt in the Mazaruni;[4] and when in 1701 the colony was divided for military purposes into two districts the plantations in the Mazaruni formed one, those in the Essequibo the other.[5]

Though the plantations seem to have dwindled then to a dozen, the good ground was so taken up that in 1704 it was found necessary to gain more by moving above the falls in Mazaruni the Company's plantation of Poelwijk,[6] which lay

[1] To apply this Dutch measure of distance see the scale on map 60 of the Atlas.

[2] A van Berkel, *Amerikaansche Voyagien*, pp. 42–44.

[3] Letter of Commandeur Beekman, November 4, 1687 (printed by Netscher, pp. 374–377).

[4] At least, a list of the planters "up in Essequibo" (*boven in Ysequebe*) appended to the governor's letter of January 15, 1685, names but five; and it is unlikely that at that date there were plantations below the confluence of the rivers. In thus speaking of the Mazaruni I include, as was then and later commonly done, the united Mazaruni and Cuyuni, to their junction with the Essequibo.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 68.

[6] Extracts, p. 208.

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just at their foot. Whether or no this was fully carried out, the earliest extant map of the colony,[1] in 1706, represents the Mazaruni as occupied nearly or quite to the falls,[2] as is the Essequibo above the confluence; and this map is confessedly incomplete.[3]

Yet, if Poelwijk was actually moved above the rapids, the experiment can hardly have proved a success; for in 1722 the engineer Maurain-Saincterre reported of the Mazaruni, as well as of the other rivers, that thus far no European had cared to establish a sugar plantation above the falls;[4] and in 1731 the colonial Court of Policy included the Mazaruni as well as the Cuyuni in their statement to the Company as to the impossibility of plantations above the falls.[5] Later grants, however, show that so sweeping a statement must be taken with a grain of salt. Thus, in 1745, the colonists Christian Finet and Daniel Couvreur asked for the same lands "above in Mazaruni," and were put off till they should come to an understanding.[6] Whether either obtained the grant does not appear; but on

[1] Atlas, map 59.

[2] These falls are a series of rapids beginning just at the head of tide water. Those of the Mazaruni are much lower and less dangerous than those of the Cuyuni; but in both rivers they form a dividing point recognized in Dutch documents by the use of the terms "*boven*" and "*beneden*," literally "above" and "beneath." The "*boven*" river was the whole river above these rapids; the "*beneden*" river, the short tide-water reach below. These phrases, appearing in such form as "*in de boven rivier*," sometimes as "*boven in Mazaruni*," and sometimes simply as "*boven Mazaruni*," are not easy to translate. "Up in Mazaruni" implies too little; "in the upper Mazaruni" suggests too much; "above in Mazaruni" is hardly English. There is reason, too, to believe that, as the drift of the colony to the coast made these rivers even more remote, "*boven in Mazaruni*" sometimes meant "in the Mazaruni" in general. For illustration see p. 305, note.

[3] See (in vol. iii) my report on "Maps from Official Sources," p. 127. Poelwijk, as shown on this map of 1706 (Atlas, map 59), is wholly on the island of Caria, which is below the rapids; and just above it, mainly on smaller islands in the river, is shown another plantation, "het Loo."

[4] Extracts, p. 248.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 83.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 85.

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the map of 1748 a "G." Finet—perhaps by error for "C." Finet—is named as the owner of a plantation in that river, while Couvreur's name is not shown.[1] But the latter also must soon have obtained land there, for in 1754 another colonist, Appelhans, was granted, "above in the river of Mazaruni," not only "the so-called Gerbrandes Island," but on the river bank "to 500 rods above the land of Daniel Couvreur;"[2] and in 1756 the Director-General writes of the coming down of Couvreur "from up in Mazaruni where he lives," to report the alarming tidings brought by "certain Indians who had retreated to him from above."[3] Important though it is to determine the exact site of Couvreur's plantation, I am unable to do so with certainty. The rule, which later obtained, that new lands granted must adjoin those already granted was perhaps not yet in force. The map of Bouchenroeder, in 1796–1798,[4] which almost certainly rested on the land records of the colony,[5] though it contains a long stretch of the Mazaruni, shows no plantations above the falls; while it does show on the west side of that river a plantation above the highest plantations marked on the map of 1748. Yet this can hardly be that granted to Appelhans in 1754, for in that case the owner of the estate below it should have been Couvreur; while in fact in the map

[1] Thus, at least, in the copy of this map reproduced by the Commission (Atlas, map 60); but so slight a variation may perhaps be attributed to a copyist's error. Finet was, in 1748, a planter in Demerara also (see map), and in 1755 was resident there (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 147). He seems to have been a surveyor also, and on occasion an explorer; we hear of journeys made by him to the upper Cuyuni and Mazaruni, and also to the Waini and the Barima. (Blue Book, pp. 86, 130, 146, 147.) Possibly the rover (p. 90; Extracts, p. 322), whose name is spelled Pinet, was the same man. It was Finet who joined the German Von Rosen, in 1755, in inviting the Prussian King to take possession of the Barima and the Waini. (Blue Book, p. 147.)

[2] Extracts, p. 350.

[3] Extracts, p. 369.

[4] Atlas, map 70.

[5] See, in vol. iii, pp. 163–173 of my report on *Maps from Official Sources*.

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of 1748 this is marked as the bread plantation of Pieter Marchal; and Pieter Marchal, as is known from his part in stirring up the Carib-Accoway war, was in 1755 still living in Mazaruni, and, as it would seem, above the other plantations.[1] Inasmuch as early in 1756 the Accoways forced Marchal to leave his plantation, it is of course not impossible that it was there Couvreur was living in July of that year; but this would not explain the land owned by him in Mazaruni in 1754. As, however, Couvreur was a planter, it is at least exceedingly probable, in view of the habits of the colony, that his lands adjoined those earlier in cultivation. There is certainly nothing elsewhere in the Dutch records which suggests that he or any other lived up the Mazaruni at a distance from the other planters. In 1757 there was granted to Gerrit Dirkse van Leeuwen[2] "the island of Noriwaka in the upper Mazaruni,"[3] provided that island should prove to contain not more than five hundred acres.[4] Later mentions of grant or occupation in that river above tide water I have not found in the Dutch records.[5]

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 106, 107.

[2] A decade later Gerrit Dirkse van Leeuwen was second bylier at the restored post on the Cuyuni. (See, e. g., Blue Book, p. 158; the full name often appears.) The island of Noriwaka, like Gerbrandes Island, is not to be identified by the maps.

[3] I. e., "above in Mazaruni."

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 109.

[5] Of a grant of 1773 (known to me only through the report of the British Guiana land commissioners in 1855) of lands described as "situate in the upper Massarouney," but known to lie even below Kykoveral, I have elsewhere spoken (p. 305, note). As the minutes of the colonial Court of Policy, which contain the record of the land grants, were prior to 1773 forwarded only in extracts to the home authorities, and as the extracts thus sent do not include the grants of land, which are known only through transcripts recently made for the British Government in the colonial archives at Georgetown, I can not state with confidence that the grants mentioned in my text are all that pertain to the "upper Mazaruni." Yet it is perhaps fair to assume that, as these were what were especially sought by the agents of Great Britain, none have been omitted. The only lands in Mazaruni which were reported by the colonial land commissioners in 1855 as still claimed, besides the lot mentioned just above, are (1) Cartabo, at the junction of Mazaruni and Cuyuni, (2) a piece of

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In 1739 the colonial authorities sent the Company specimens of ores from the Mazaruni as well as from the Cuyuni,[1] and when in 1741 the mining engineer Hildebrandt was sent over, he began his operations in the Mazaruni.[2] But he went no higher than a little above the plantation Poelwijk, and even here, though he opened a shaft, his work was not long continued.

For fishing and hunting and for trade with the Indians the upper Mazaruni was in use by the Dutch colony from an early date.[3] By 1686, at least, they had there an "annatto store,"[4] and the Company's monopoly of trade there in that dye and in Indian slaves was long maintained.[5] But there is no record of the existence there at any time of a post,[6] or of any other resident occupation by the Dutch at any point beyond that reached by the plantations.

Exploration in the upper Mazaruni was seldom or never attempted by the Dutch. "The colonist E. Pipersberg," wrote the Essequibo governor in 1764, "is the only man to my knowledge who has been any distance up the river."[7] His errand thither was the capture of runaway slaves; and he reached tribes there which had never before seen a white man.[8]

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land on the east bank of the Mazaruni which is described as "intersected by Unipecru Creek," and (3) "a certain tract of Government land situated on the eastern bank of Massarooney River, the southern bank of Cayooney, bearing due west 100 roods façade and 300 deep, and containing 100 acres"—apparently in Cuyuni, therefore, rather than in Mazaruni.

[1] Extracts, pp. 282, 283.

[2] Extracts, p. 285.

[3] Extracts, pp. 149, 233.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 62.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 82, 83. Extracts, No. 118.

[6] It is, of course, possible that the "annatto store" was such a post; but, if so, it had ceased to exist by 1691, for there is no mention of it in the muster-roll of that year, nor does it ever appear thereafter.

[7] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 130.

[8] Extracts, p. 413.

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The only landmark left on record by his trip was a high "pyramid" seen at his right on his way back. Another colonist, C. Finet,[1] had been far enough up the river to testify that it could be navigated without danger.[2] Of other exploration we do not hear.

In brief:

1. The Mazaruni was the earliest seat and center of the Dutch in Essequibo.

2. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the plantations had reached the head of tide water, and during that century were in two or three instances pushed higher, though probably only far enough to secure fresh ground.

3. Trade with the Indians in the upper river began early, but no regular post was ever maintained there.

4. No thorough exploration of the river was ever attempted, and its upper reaches were virtually unknown.

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[1] Cf. pp. 349, 350, above.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 130.

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10. DUTCH CLAIMS IN GUIANA.[1]

Neither in connection with the early trading expeditions to Guiana nor with the first projects for its colonization is there now to be found in Dutch records a claim to definite territory there.[2] The most that is anywhere urged is that this region is not yet occupied by the Spaniards or the Portuguese, and is therefore open to trade or to settlement. According to Jan de Laet (writing in 1625), a charter was granted by the States-General to a Dutch colony in the Corentyn, probably that known to us from Spanish records as existing there in 1613. This charter can not now be found. There is nothing in De Laet's mention of it to suggest that the territory specified in it included aught else than that river itself.[3]

When, in 1621, there was conferred upon the Dutch West India Company (1621–1674) by charter a monopoly of trade on all the coasts of America, with authority to "promote the settlement of fruitful and uninhabited districts," no specific mention was made either of Guiana or of any other stretch of territory, the only limits named being the extreme points of

[1] I speak here of claims made by the Dutch Government, or in its name by those who had some right to speak for it—as the Dutch West India Company or the colonial authorities. Claims made *to* the Company or to the State by these colonial authorities or by individuals have been mentioned in my discussion of the occupation of the several rivers.

[2] This silence, if real, is the more notable because as early as 1613 the English King, as the Dutch must have been aware, granted a patent of all Guiana from the Amazon to the Essequibo.

[3] De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, ed. of 1625, p. 474. The passage runs: "*Op dese rieviere Coretini hebben ons Nederlanders ghehandelt ende oock volck ghehouden veel jaren gheleden, de Hog. Mog. Heeren Staten Generael hadden daer Octroy van verleent.*" Cf. note, p. 160, above.

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America—Newfoundland, the Strait of Magellan, and the straits we now know as Bering's. On the territorial rights of the Dutch West India Company under its charters I have already made a special report to the Commission (pp. 99–117 of this volume), and to that I must here refer, adding only that nothing I have learned in my researches in European archives suggests modification of the conclusions therein reached.

In 1628 Jan de Laet, then the foremost Dutch authority of his time upon America and a leading director of the West India Company, wrote for the little geographical series of the Elzevirs a book on "Spain, or on the realms and resources of the King of Spain," in which he clearly set forth his views as to the claims of European states in Guiana—views very probably shared by his colleagues of the Company. "From the River Orinoco," he writes, "the continent extends through vast expanses of territory to that other river, far the greatest of all, which is called that of the Amazons, and thence onward to the river or island Marañon. In all this space, which comprises vast provinces, and in which a multitude of rivers issue into the ocean, the Spaniards possess almost nothing except on the left bank of the River Amazon, at its mouth, a certain fortress, which they call Para, from which they seek to gain for themselves an entrance into the interior provinces. The English, however, and especially our people [the Dutch], visit frequently all this coast and these rivers and carry on trade with the natives." And this is all he says of Guiana.[1]

[1] "A flumine Oronoque continens magnis terrarum spatiis ad alterum flumen longe vastissimum extenditur quod vulgo Amazonum vocant, atque ab illo porro ad flumen sive insulam Marahnon; toto autem hoc spatio, quo ingentes provinciæ comprehenduntur, et quamplurimi amues in Oceanum exeunt, nihil fere possident Hispani, præterquam ad sinistram ingredientibus flumiuis Amazonum ripam, arcem quandam quam vocant Param, è qua sibi aditum in iuteriores provincias parare satagunt. Angli autem et nostrates maxime, omnem hanc oram et hos amnes crebro adeunt et cum indigenis commercia exercent."—*Hispania, sive de Regis Hispaniæ regnis et opibus commentarius* (*Leyden, 1629*), *p. 225.*

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In similar phrase the West India Company itself, in a remonstrance addressed to the States-General in 1633, declared that "from New Spain eastward the whole coast of Incanata, Honduras, and Terra Firma (as the Spaniards call it) to beyond Trinidad is all occupied by Spaniards, and not only the coasts but also the islands; except next to these, the regions of Guiana, which we call the Wild Coast; this coast and divers rivers are yet unsettled and inhabited by free savages, and in these regions are many products which might be advantageously brought hither. But what of it? These nations are so barbarous and have so few wants (inasmuch as they have no desire for clothing and need nothing else for their subsistence) that all the trade which exists there can easily be carried on with two or three ships a year, and be maintained with trifling capital. This region is bounded by the great river of the Amazons, which also is not free from occupation by Spaniards, as our people have experienced to their damage."[1]

To the West India Company, under its charter of 1621, belonged, of course, the right to plant Dutch colonies on the

[1] "Nu van Noua Hispania voorwaerts naer 't oosten de gantsche Custe van Incanata, de Honduras ende Terra Firma (als de Spangiaerden dat uoemen), tot voorby de Trinidad, is niet alleen de Custen, maer oock de eylanden al met Spangiaerden beset; alleen so volgen hieraen de landen van Guiana, welck wy noemen de wilde Cust; dese Cust ende verscheyde rivieren sijn nog onbeslaegen ende bewoond by vrije wilden, ende in dese landen vallen met verscheydeu goederen, die met proffijt in dese landen connen gebracht wordeu; maer wat ist, dese natien sijn soo barbaris ende soe onbehoeftich (door dien sy noch lust tot cleedinge hebben, noch yts anders tot onderhoud des levens van doen hebben), dat alle den handel die hier valt, ligt met twee à drie schepen jaerlycx can gedreven, ende met gering capitael can onderhouden worden. 'T selve is van de groote rivier des Amasones de welcke oock niet vrijen is van de besettinge van Spangiarden, gelyck de onse met haere schade hebben bevonden."

This passage is among those transcribed at The Hague by Brodhead in 1841 for the State of New York, and is printed (in translation) in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (vol. i, p. 66).

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coasts of America.[1] And the Zeeland Chamber of that Company claimed, as against the other Chambers, the exclusive right to colonize the coast of Guiana. The Amsterdam

[1] Of interest in this connection is an "*Order for the West India Company touching the boundary in New Netherland,*" issued by the States-General on January 23, 1664:

"The States-General of the United Netherlands, to all who shall hear or see these, Health:—Be it known, Whereas, for divers and weighty reasons, we thought proper, in the year 1621, to erect and establish in our country a company called the West India Company, through the same alone, and to the exclusion of all others, to resort and trade to the coasts and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and the countries of America, or the West Indies, from the south end of *Terra Nova* through the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire, or other passages and straits situate thereabouts, unto the Strait of Anjan, as well on the North as South Sea, and all islands lying on the one and the other side and betwixt both, and extending to the Australian or southern countries, and lying between both meridians, including in the east the Cape of Good Hope and in the west the east end of New Guinea. Granting, by the second article of the charter of the 3d of June, 1621, given to them under Our great seal, further and more particularly, that they, in Our name and by Our authority, may, within the aforesaid limits, make and conclude contracts, treaties, and alliances with the Princes and natives of the countries contained therein, erect fortresses and strongholds there, appoint, remove, and dismiss Governors, soldiers, and officers of justice necessary for all requisite services for the conservation of the places, the maintenance of good order, police, and justice, together with the promotion of trade, and others in their places to appoint, according as the same shall be found proper; and especially as it may best promote the peopling of fruitful and uninhabited countries; and the aforesaid company having, from the beginning, by virtue of the aforesaid charter, in conformity with Our sincere intention, established their population and colonists on the coast of America, in the country called New Netherland, notwithstanding which some persons evil disposed towards our State and the said company, endeavor to misrepresent Our good and honest meaning, as the same is contained in the said charter, as if We had privileged the said company only to trade within the said limits, and not to colonize nor to plant settlements, nor take possession of lands, calling the company's right thereto in question.

"Wherefore We, being desirous to assure all, each, and every one whom it may concern, of our intention in the aforesaid charter, hereby declare Our meaning well and truly to have been and still to be, that the aforesaid company was and is still empowered to establish colonies and settlements on lands unoccupied by others, within the limits aforesaid." . . .

The document is printed by Luzac, in his *Hollands Rijkdom,* ii, Bijlaage L, and is translated in full in the *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (ii, pp. 228–229). The documents of the controversy between the English and Dutch in New Netherland, most of which are to be found in the collection last named, are full of suggestion as to the nature of the territorial claims of the Dutch.

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Chamber, however, protested in 1658 that "the whole Wild Coast, it being from the first degree to the tenth more than two hundred [Dutch] miles," could not possibly be colonized by the Zeeland Chamber alone.[1] The matter having been brought before the Nineteen, it was, on September 3, 1659, agreed that "As regards New Netherland where the Amsterdam Chamber, and the Wild Coast where the Zeeland Chamber, have their colonies, respectively, it shall be open to the other Chambers . . . to establish there also their colonies, at suitable and unoccupied places, and to allow others, private individuals, to come with their colonies, always with prior notification to, and knowledge and approval of, the Board of Nineteen, and on such an equitable footing, and under such order and regulations, as not to conflict with the colonies already established by Amsterdam and Zeeland."[2]

In the sundry bodies of inducements to colonists in Guiana drawn up and promulgated by the West India Company from 1627 to 1657, it is repeatedly assumed that the whole "Wild Coast" is open to Dutch colonization.[3] This is once defined as extending from the Amazon to the Orinoco,[4] once as reaching from the Amazon to an unnamed degree of north latitude,[5] once is even made to stretch "from the Amazon to the Wild or Caribbean Islands, both inclusive."[6] Oftener the term is left undefined, as self-explanatory.

[1] Extracts, pp. 130, 131.

[2] "En wat aengaet Nieuw Nederland, daer de Kamer van Amsteldam, en de Wilde Kust daer de Kamer van Zeeland, ieder hare Colonien hebben, zoo zal het de andere Kameren vry staen (blyvende de Resolutien te voren genomen in haer geheel), op bekwame en onbeheerde Plaetsen, ook hare Colonien, aldaer te stabileren, en andere particulieren onder hare Colonien te laten komen, alles met voorgaende Notificatie, Kennis en Approbatie van de Vergaderinge der Negentienen, en op eenen egalen voet, Ordre en Reglement, niet strydig tegens de alreede gestabileerde Colonien van Amsteldam en Zeeland."—(*Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, p. 1098.

[3] Extracts, pp. 47, 56, 57, 60, 113, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125.

[4] Extracts, p. 60.

[5] Extracts, p. 113.

[6] Extracts, p. 56, note.

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When, in 1657, the provincial Estates of Zeeland were besought by the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company to take under their patronage the new Guiana colony about to be established, this was described as "on the Wild Coast of Essequibo and adjacent places, stretching from the first to the tenth degree of north latitude, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon;"[1] and when, later in the same year, the direction of the colonization of Guiana was transferred by the Company to the three Walcheren cities, they were empowered by the Company to "establish and plant colonies on the continental Wild Coast between the first and the tenth degree."[2]

How the Dutch looked on Guiana at this period is suggested by a little tract written in 1659 in the interest of the colonization of this region—a "Description of Guiana," under the form of a dialogue between a countryman, a townsman, and a sailor. The townsman, having asked the sailor "Where is this land Guiana situated?" and having learned that "This land is situated between the great rivers Amazon and Orinoco," next inquires "Has this land its own government, or have the Spaniards and Portuguese anything to say there?" and is told: "This land has its own kings and governments; neither Spaniard nor Portuguese has anything to say there—they do not even come thither, inasmuch as the Guianese are mortal foes of the Spanish and Portuguese nations." It is clear that by "the Guianese" and their governments are understood the Indians, and that Guiana, though not Spanish or Portuguese, is not thought of as belonging to the Dutch.[3]

[1] Extracts, p. 124.

[2] Extracts, p. 125.

[3] Stee-man: "Waer is dit Landt Guiana gelegen?"

Schipper: "Dit Landt is gelegen in 't zuyder America . . . bepaelt tusschen de vermaerde Rivieren, Amazonas, en Oroneque, ofte Worroneque."

Stee-man: "Heeft dit Landt syn eygen regeeringe, of hebben de Spangiaerts en Portugesen daer oock wat te seggen?"

Schipper: "Dit Landt heeft syn eygen Koningen en Regeeringe, den Spangiaert

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But, while there is thus abundant evidence of a claim of the Dutch to plant colonies freely on the coast of Guiana from the Amazon to the Orinoco, I have found in Dutch records no claim, as against other European States, of an *exclusive* right thus to colonize Guiana; and no protest at any time against the similar attempts which, throughout the greater part of this century, the English and the French were likewise making to plant colonies on this coast.[1]

The Treaty of Münster, by which in 1648 Spain for the first time formally recognized the independence of the Dutch and the existence of their colonial possessions, makes no mention of Guiana or of any other region by name; nor do the records of the negotiations, preserved to us in great fullness, show any mention of that district. Equally silent are the treaties of the Netherlands with England and with France. Nor are the Guiana colonies matters of discussion in the diplomatic correspondence between Holland and Spain.

And when, in 1674, the old West India Company was dissolved, the charter given by the States-General to its successor granted it, not as before the entire coast of America, nor even the Wild Coast of Guiana, but on the American

noch Portugees, en heeft daer niet te seggen, sy komen daer oock niet, vermits de Guianesen doodt vyanden zyn van de Spaensche en Portugeesche natie."

(Beschryvinge van Guiana . . . Discourerender wyse voorgestelt, tusschen een Boer ofte Landt-man, een Burger ofte Stee-man, een Schipper ofte Zee-man, een Haegsche Bode: Hoorn, 1676, pp. 13, 14.) Although not printed until 1676, the book was written, as its preface tells us, in 1659.

[1]Addressing the English ambassador, in 1664, *à propos* of the controversy over New Netherland, the Dutch States-General maintained "that property which lies wild, desert, sterile, and vacant belongs to him who happens to occupy it; that this title of occupation constitutes that of the inhabitants of this state to the lands of New Netherland, and that the English themselves have no other title to the lands which they possess in those countries;" and that "possession is a real taking up, . . . and therefore an act which must be verified by witnesses, and can not in the remotest degree be proved by the granting of any patent or royal charter." For the whole passage, see *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York* (vol. ii, p. 380).

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mainland only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." Berbice, of course, and Surinam remained Dutch possessions, though not now granted to the West India Company.[1] But what became of Dutch claims, if such there were, to those portions of the Wild Coast unoccupied at the date of this new charter is a question for the lawyers. No light is thrown upon it by the contemporary records of the States-General's action.

The boundaries of "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon" the charter did not define; and it was long before the West India Company itself attempted such a definition. The suggestion of the Essequibo governor in 1683–84 that they take into their possession the river Barima did not elicit so much as a response.[2] Even as to the Pomeroon the Company seems to have had some doubts as to its title; for the proposal to throw open that river, in 1686, met with protest from the Zeeland deputies, and it was not until after a careful investigation by the Zeeland Chamber of the history of the earlier colony in that river that the Pomeroon was again opened to settlement.[3] When, in 1689, the colony in that river was forever brought to an end by a raid of the French and Caribs, the Company instructed the Essequibo governor to leave there three men with a flag "for the maintenance of the Company's possession" there,[4] but said nothing as to frontier.

[1] The Company claimed Berbice, nevertheless, and there resulted a controversy between it and the heirs of the patroon Van Pere. The outcome was the recognition, in 1778, by all parties and by the States-General, of the colony as a fief of the Company, to be held by the Van Peres, subject to feudal dues, as long as the Company's charter lasted. Surinam remained in the hands of the province of Zeeland till 1682, when it was bought by the Company, which in 1683 sold a third interest to the city of Amsterdam and another to the house of Sommelsdijk, retaining but a third for itself. These relations of the Company with Guiana territories not specified in its charter are not without interest to the present problem.

[2] Extracts, pp. 158–171; and cf. pp. 262–268, above.

[3] Extracts, pp. 175–180; cf. also p. 139.

[4] Extracts, p. 191.

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The earliest mention I have anywhere found in Dutch records of a boundary between the Dutch and the Spanish possessions in Guiana is that in 1712 by the Lord of Sommelsdijk, head of the great Dutch family which was one-third owner of the colony of Surinam. There was then under negotiation the Peace of Utrecht, by which the relations of Spain and the Netherlands were afresh to be defined. In a session of the Society of Surinam, at Amsterdam, Mr. Van Sommelsdijk urged the regulation in this treaty of the "boundary in America between the subjects of the States-General and those of the King of Spain, as regards the province of Surinam with the rivers and districts adjacent thereto." The matter was actually put into the hands of the Dutch plenipotentiary; but it was never brought up for discussion in the formal negotiations.[1] Where Mr. Van Sommelsdijk and his colleagues would have wished the frontier set does not appear; and, though the West India Company was a member, to the extent of a third, of the Society of Surinam, and must, therefore, have known of this effort for a delimitation of the boundary, no action on this head is to be found in its own minutes.

Puzzling questions are raised as to the notions of the West India Company regarding the district lying beyond its northwestern post of Wacupo by its attitude toward the traders of the neighboring Dutch colonies of Berbice and Surinam, whose trade "in the district lying under the charter" they restricted or forbade,[2] while their trade west of this post was tolerated, and it was even proposed to legalize it by a toll.[3] The Surinam traders carried on, indeed, on the testimony of the Essequibo governors, a larger trade with the Indians west of the Moruca

[1] Extracts, pp. 233–236.

[2] Extracts, pp. 196, 207, 208. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 70.

[3] Extracts, pp. 229–232, 238, 239, and *passim*. Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 72–76.

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than did the Company's colony itself.[1] What bearing, if any, this fact may have upon the territorial claims there of the Company or of the Dutch is a problem. Not to be overlooked in this connection is the evidence from a later period that the passes granted by the Surinam governors for this trade were recognized by the Essequibo postholders.[2] To be noted, too, is the Company's assertion, in answer to the request of the Essequibo colonists to be allowed freedom of trade in the neighboring Spanish territory, that "although Orinoco, Trinidad, etc., is under the power of the Spaniards, still it also lies within the charter of the Company, where nobody has the right to trade except the Company and those to whom the Company gives permission to do so—so that it all is the territory of the Company, even though we have no forts there."[3] It is, of course, the trade provisions of the charter which are here in thought. Thus, too, in a letter of 1752, the other Dutch colonies on this coast are declared to be "also situated under the district of the States-General's charter."[4]

A claim as to territorial frontier the Company was slow in making. Neither the recommendations of the engineer, Maurain-Saincterre, in 1722, for the establishment of plantations in the Waini and the Barima,[5] nor the report of Governor Gelskerke, in 1734, as to the project of the Swedes for occupying the Barima and the plans of the Spaniards for dispossessing them,[6] won from the Company a word as to its rights in this region.[7] The removal of the Wacupo post westward to the

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 91. Extracts, pp. 278, 332. Cf. also what Father Gumilla says of Governor Gelskerke's reply to his protest against the slave trade. (*Orinoco*, ii, p. 92.)

[2] Extracts, p. 403.

[3] Extracts, p. 241.

[4] Extracts, p. 339.

[5] Extracts, p. 248.

[6] Extracts, pp. 257–265.

[7] Equally unanswered was a later appeal from an Essequibo governor (April 14, 1753—Extracts, pp. 340, 341) for instructions as to his conduct in case the Swedes should renew their designs on the Barima.

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Moruca, in 1726, took place without comment from the Company, and when, in 1737, Governor Gelskerke wrote them that this post, though declining in commercial value, must be kept up because "established for the maintenance of your frontiers,"[1] they said nothing of the frontier in their reply. Another interesting territorial question was raised in 1744 by the Essequibo governor's taking possession of a Dutch slave ship stranded on the coast between the Moruca and the Waini. Certain Dutch jurists are said to have held the territory Spanish. But the Company seems to have pronounced no opinion on this point; and no protest came from Spain.[2]

Even the advance of the Spanish missions in the basin of the Cuyuni did not at once stir them to a claim. In July, 1746, when Governor Storm van 's Gravesande first reported the presence of these, he added that he dared not check this Spanish advance because of his ignorance of "the true frontier line."[3] In December he again lamented to them that "the boundaries west of this river [Essequibo] are unknown to me."[4] In March, 1747, he once more explained his inaction by the fact that he was not "rightly conscious how far the limits of your territory extend, both on the eastern and northern sides as well as back to the south and westwards," and he added that no documents regarding these boundaries were to be found in the archives of the colony.[5] The Zeeland Chamber could only reply that it must await the action of the Ten.[6] And when the Ten finally met, in September, 1747, it could but adopt a resolution requesting that "all the respective

[1] Extracts, p. 278.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 85, 86; Extracts. p. 328.
[3] Extracts, p. 306.
[4] Extracts, p. 309.
[5] Extracts, p. 311.
[6] Extracts, p. 311.

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Chambers, each by itself, investigate and inquire whether it can be discovered how far the limits of this Company in Essequibo do extend;"[1] and to this effect it wrote the governor.[2] Meanwhile he had found in the colony itself a source at least of suggestion. "According to the talk of the old men and of the Indians," he wrote the Company in December, 1748, "this jurisdiction should begin to the east at the creek Abary and extend westward as far as the river Barima." Yet "this talk," he added, "gives not the slightest certainty;" and he still wished "that, if it were possible," he "might know the true boundary."[3] But no answer to this question was found by the Chambers; and, when in 1750, Governor Storm van 's Gravesande came home to Holland and laid in person before the Company the needs of the colony, he had again to point out that "it is urgently necessary that the limits of the Company's territory be known."[4] This time he was told that "the determining of the limits" was an object of attention to His Highness, the Stadhouder, and that the latter's advice thereon must be awaited.[5] Whether in private conference it was confidentially agreed between the Stadhouder and Governor Storm van 's Gravesande that, provisionally, the basis of Dutch claim should be the newly published map of the French geographer D'Anville, which Governor Storm van 's Gravesande was shown by that prince,[6] can not be known. Even if so, the death of the prince in 1751 left matters as before. When, in 1754, the Spaniards were again pushing forward with their missions, Governor Storm van 's Gravesande again addressed to the Company a prayer for "the so long-

[1] Extracts, p. 313.
[2] Extracts, p. 314.
[3] Extracts, p. 322.
[4] Extracts, p. 330.
[5] Extracts, p. 333.
[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 118.

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sought definition of frontier."[1] "Is not this," he asked, "regulated by the Treaty of Münster?" The answer of the Zeeland Chamber, sent on January 6, 1755, is of the highest interest.[2] "We would we were able," they wrote, "to give you such an exact and precise definition of the proper limits of Essequibo as you have several times asked of us; but we greatly doubt whether any precise and accurate definition can anywhere be found, save and except the general limits of the Company's territories stated in the preambles of the respective charters granted to the West India Company at various times by the States-General." Now, as has been shown, the only American limits named in the first of these charters are Newfoundland and Bering's Strait, while the second and final one names no limits at all, but only "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon." But the Zeeland Chamber is not yet through. The letter goes on: "And except the description thereof which is found in the respective memorials drawn up and printed when the well-known differences arose concerning the exclusive navigation of the inhabitants of Zeeland to those parts, wherein it is defined as follows: 'That region lying between those two well-known great rivers, namely, on the one side, that far-stretching and wide-spreading river, the Amazon, and, on the other side, the great and mightily flowing river, the Orinoco, occupying an intermediate space of 10 degrees of north latitude from the Equator, together with the islands adjacent thereto.'" Now, the memorial from which this grandiloquent clause is borrowed is the well-known one addressed in 1751 to the States-General by the Zeeland Chamber itself; but a glance at the context shows that what was there described was by no means the colony of Essequibo. The memorialists were speaking of the earliest Dutch colonizers of Guiana. These praiseworthy colonizers, they declare,

[1] Extracts, pp. 347, 348. [2] Extracts, pp. 357, 358.

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"among other places of that broad continent [of America], cast their eyes on" the region thus described, i. e., on Guiana. The descriptive phrases above quoted are followed by these words: "Which aforesaid region, stamped by the Spaniards, as its first European possessors and inhabitants, . . . with the name of Guiana, was afterward by our people—at least the greater part of it—called by the name of the Wild Coast; probably because the chief portion of the aforesaid coast, reckoning from the river Amazon to the said great stream, the Orinoco, was at that time inhabited by no others than the natives . . ." But, if the passage thus quoted could hardly with justice be interpreted as a definition of the limits of Essequibo, it must be added that later passages of the memorial in question left no doubt that its authors in fact held the Dutch colonies to extend to the Orinoco. Thus, a little later, discussing the trade-regulation of 1633 by which the Caribbean coasts "from the Orinoco westward" were thrown open to Dutch cruisers, they argue thus: "Your High Mightinesses, in specifying the limits within which navigation shall be confined begin precisely with the district above the tenth degree of north latitude—the river Orinoco westward—just where the possession of the Zeeland Chamber ended. What reasons could there have been why the navigators should not have been admitted also within the aforesaid ten lowest degrees excepting only that this distance and that region and the rivers there situate were lawful possessions of the Zeeland Chamber?"[1] Whatever one may think either of this reasoning or of the appositeness of the quoted description, there can be no doubt that the Zeeland Chamber in its reply to the Essequibo governor in 1755 did actually suggest the Orinoco as a boundary. Almost as much had already been done by the shareholders

[1] *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, 1751, pp. 1084, 1094. In another passage (p. 1089) of the same memorial, the colony of Essequibo is described as "lying on the Orinoco, and therefore 8 or 9 degrees further north" than the Amazon.

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of the Zeeland Chamber in 1751,[1] when in a memorial to the States-General they had spoken of "Essequibo with all her appurtenant rivers from the river Berbice down as far as the river of Orinoco."[2]

Unfortunately for the importance of these claims by the Zeeland Chamber, that Chamber had now, and even before its memorial of 1751, lost the right to speak, even as to Guiana, for the West India Company as a whole. The long-festering struggle over the Zeeland monopoly of the control of Essequibo had in 1750 burst into open quarrel; and the remainder of the Company had, pending the decision of the States-General, washed its hands of the colony altogether, refusing to allow it to be a subject of discussion in the meetings of the Ten. Moreover, the counter-memorials addressed to the States-General by the Amsterdam Chamber contested the statements made by the Zeelanders, not excepting those as to the limits of the colony. They even denied that the colony of "Essequibo and appurtenant rivers" included of right anything more than the Essequibo and its tributaries, and did not fail to point out that the various utterances of the Zeeland Chamber itself were inconsistent with each other in their statement of the boundaries.[3] However historically untenable the contention of the Amsterdam Chamber, it must, especially in view of the final award of the colony to the latter's control, go far to neutralize the assertions of the Zeelanders.

But we are not yet at the end of the Zeeland Chamber's

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

[2] In like fashion these Zeeland shareholders, a decade later, in another memorial, declared that the colony of Essequibo, "is crossed not only by the chief river, the Essequibo, but also by several small rivers, such as Barima, Waini, Moruca, Pomeroon, and Demerara." (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 133.)

[3] Extracts, pp. 428–433. This memorial was the joint reply of the Amsterdam Chamber and of the representative of the Stadhouder, calling itself *Deductie van den Representant van sijn Hoogheid en Bewindhebberen der Westindische Compagnie ter presidiale Kamer Amsterdam.*

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answer to Storm van 's Gravesande. "For," they add, after thus referring to the charters and quoting the memorial of 1751, "neither in the Treaty of Münster (mentioned because you suggested this to us), nor in any other, is there, to our knowledge, anything to be found about this."

With such an answer, giving the colony no boundaries but those of all Guiana, the governor had to be content. Already, in 1754, before receiving this answer, the colonial authorities had planted a post up the Cuyuni; and when, in 1758, this was destroyed by a Spanish raid, it was not the Orinoco boundary, as suggested by the Zeeland Chamber's answer, but the boundary laid down in the map of D'Anville, which the Essequibo governor, in his letter of protest to the Spanish Governor of Orinoco, claimed for the Dutch and avowed his purpose to maintain.[1] It was to this map of D'Anville, too, that he appealed in his report to the Company regarding the Spanish attack, saying that on it they would "see even our boundaries portrayed, whereof it appears he was informed on good authority."[2]

The Zeeland Chamber itself, startled into the drafting of an

[1] Extracts, pp. 377, 378.

[2] "*En daerop selver onze limiten zien, waarvan het schynt hy van goeder hand onderregt was.*" In view of the fact that this map was shown to Storm by the Prince of Orange, and of the fact that in 1750 the boundaries were said to be "an object of His Highness's attention," it may be asked if the source of D'Anville's line may not possibly have been that Prince himself, to whom it certainly would not have been strange for the French royal geographer to address himself for such information. But this seems to me very improbable. In that case Storm, who had talked with the Prince, would almost certainly have known it, and could not have failed to name to the Company, confidentially at least, so high a sponsor for the claims he was urging. In that case, too, it is incredible that the Company itself should not know what map of D'Anville he meant or could have needed to receive a copy from the Essequibo governor. Nor would Storm in that case have made, without reserve, his appeal of 1754 for a definition of the boundary. D'Anville's line, too, seems but a modification of that of the earlier French geographer, Delisle, as is cogently pointed out by Secretary Mallet-Prevost in his report on *The Cartographical Testimony of Geographers* (in vol. iii).

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energetic remonstrance for presentation by the States-General to the Court of Spain, made in that document no such demarcation of its claim.[1] It affirmed only its immemorial possession of the Essequibo and all its branches, and hence its surprise at being disturbed in the quiet enjoyment of its post on the Cuyuni. What it asked was not restitution of territory, but only "that reparation may be made for the said hostilities, and that the Remonstrants may be reinstated in the quiet possession of the said post on the river of Cuyuni, and also that through their High Mightinesses and the Court of Madrid a proper delimitation between the Colony of Essequibo and the river Orinoco may be laid down by authority, so as to prevent any future dispute." Adopted without change by the States-General, July 31, 1759, this remonstrance was at once transmitted to the Court of Spain. It was, so far as can be learned, the earliest mention, in the intercourse between these governments, of the Guiana boundary. No formal answer from Spain was ever received.

Before submitting this remonstrance the Zeeland Chamber had written to the Essequibo governor, asking "to be exactly informed where the aforesaid post on the river of Cuyuni was situated," and also to be given "a more specific description of the map of America by Mr. D'Anville."[2] The reply of Governor Storm, written on September 1, 1759,[3] came much too late for use in the remonstrance; but his claim to the whole of the river Cuyuni so impressed them that in their reply of December 3 they asked him to lay before them "everything which in any way might be of service in proof of our right of ownership to, or possession of, the aforesaid river, because, after receiving it, we might perhaps present to the States-General a fuller remonstrance on this head, with a statement

[1] Extracts, pp. 383–386. [2] Extracts, p. 381. [3] Extracts, pp. 386, 387.

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of facts joined thereto."[1] They asked further, also, the grounds upon which he made "the boundary of the colony toward the side of Orinoco to extend not only to Waini, but even as far as Barima."

It was ten years before the fuller remonstrance thus foreshadowed was actually presented. Spanish aggressions had in the meantime not ceased. They had called the attention of the Company not less forcibly to the frontier on the seacoast than to that in the basin of the Cuyuni. The "great remonstrance," drawn up by the Zeeland Chamber and urged by the Stadhouder, which on August 2, 1769, was adopted by the States-General and duly transmitted to Spain, differs strikingly in its attitude toward the boundary from its predecessor of 1759. What it asks is no longer "that a proper delimitation be laid down by authority." It assumes, instead, that such a delimitation already exists, and implies in unmistakable terms the limits of Dutch territory. It is now not alone of the Essequibo and its branches, but also "of sundry rivers and creeks on that coast which flow into the sea," of which the Company claims to have been "in almost immemorial possession." It asserts this especially of the Cuyuni, where, it avers, "from all old times" there had been a post of the Company; but it does not dispute the rightful presence of the Spaniards in that river. Two new missions reported in February, 1769, though "not far above the Company's aforesaid post in Cuyuni," are "apparently, however, on Spanish territory;" and it is complained only (in a phrase italicized both in the manuscript and in the official printed impressions of the remonstrance) that they are "*so near to* the Dutch territory." The river Moruca, "where from time immemorial the Company had likewise had a trading place and post," "is a small

[1] Extracts, p. 388.

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river, or creek, south of the river Waini and lying between it and the river Pomeroon," and "beyond contradiction belonged also to the Dutch territory. But on the coast, the territory of the Dutch extends from the river Marowyn, at the east, "to beyond the river Waini, not far from the mouth of the river Orinoco;" and this not, so far as is alleged, on the basis of treaty or of occupation, but "according to the existing maps thereof, particularly that of M. d'Anville, reckoned for its accuracy as one of the best."[1]

Such are the territorial claims, express or implied, of the document which alone in all the diplomatic correspondence of the Netherlands with Spain suggests the whereabouts of the Guiana boundary. These claims were never answered by Spain,[2] and never reiterated by Holland. Spanish aggressions continued to cause anxiety in the colony, and occasionally a complaint to the home government; but they were overshadowed by the more pressing grievance of the harboring by the Spaniards of the runaway slaves of the Dutch. Whatever of negotiation or of protest regarding the Guiana colonies is to be found during the next quarter century or so in Dutch records

[1] Extracts, pp. 457–462, 468–475.

[2] Less fortunate than the British searchers, I have not heen ahle to find even that oral answer which (in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 14) the Dutch amhassador at Madrid is said to have received from the Spanish prime minister: "that he would send orders to the (Spanish) governor to discontinue all hostilities and to leave those of the Dutch Colony in quiet possession as they had possessed the same until now." I find, indeed, that the Dutch ambassador *asked* this in precisely these words (see his letter of September 7, 1769, printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 174); hut the answer he reports is a much less reassuring one. His Excellency "said he knew nothing of the matter," and replied, in substance, that it should be looked into. What *can* be found as to relations in Guiana in the letters of the Dutch ambassador at Madrid to the States-General during the next quarter century has beeu printed in the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3" (pp. 182, 188, 189). I have read also with care the more private correspondence of the ambassador with the Secretary of the States-General and with the *Raad-Pensionaris* throughout the period 1756–1796 without finding any passage like that quoted, or any mention of houndary or of territorial rights in Guiana.

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turns on this and not on questions of boundary; and when, in 1791, a cartel was at last concluded for the reciprocal return of such fugitives, no mention of territorial claim is to be found either in that convention itself or in the diplomatic correspondence attending its negotiation.

The question of the Guiana boundary does not seem to have been again brought forward in Holland until, at the close of the year 1801, a great European Congress was again arranging the affairs of nations. The colonies in Guiana, which since 1796 had been in the hands of the British, were about to be restored to the Dutch; and the Dutch "Council of the American Colonies," with the approval of the Government, secretly sent an envoy to the Congress of Amiens, there to act as adviser to the Dutch plenipotentiary and care for colonial interests in the pending negotiations.[1] In the confidential instructions given him (December 22, 1801) he was charged, "in case the negotiations at the Congress should also extend themselves to the regulation of the interests of this Republic with other Powers, and this should lead to a precise definition of the boundaries of one or other of their respective possessions," to "try to have the limits between the Batavian [Dutch] and Spanish possessions in South America irrevocably defined, either by the eastern bank of the Orinoco or by the river Barima."[2]

But, on reaching Amiens, this envoy, Ruysch, was at once made to see that, in view of the certain opposition of the English, it would be unwise to so much as mention the Guiana boundary in the Congress. Ruysch accordingly wrote this to his principals, the Council of the Colonies, recommending that the negotiation as to the boundary be rather intrusted to the Dutch ambassador at Madrid: "that he should be empowered,

[1] Extracts, pp. 639–643. [2] Extracts, p. 644.

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with full authority, to fix the boundary fifteen or twenty Dutch miles below [i. e., west of] Barima."[1] "In case this should not find favor, then at Barima; and, if this should not go, then, in order to obviate all cavil in future, to pay therefor a certain sum."[2]

The Council seems to have acquiesced without protest in this conclusion, and the matter is heard of no more.[3] If, however, it was their intent to intrust it to the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, that intent was not carried out.[4] Neither Spain nor the world were the wiser for this confidential scheming of the Dutch Council of the Colonies. The speedy reopening of the European war and the loss of the colonies again, in 1803, to the British, soon put further action out of the question. Yet, just before this catastrophe, the submission by the Council of the Colonies to the Dutch Governor-General of Demerara and Essequibo of a body of petitions for land grants between Moruca and Waini, with a request for his advice, not as to the Dutch ownership of this territory, but only as to the expedience of now opening it to cultivation,[5] plainly shows (if the document to this effect still extant among the colonial papers represents action actually taken) the attitude and policy of the Batavian Government toward this region.

In fine, then:

1 The whole coast of Guiana was, from the beginning of

[1] "Barima being held among us as the frontier line," explains Ruysch. By "among us" he probably means "in the colony."

[2] Extracts, pp. 646–647.

[3] Extracts, p. 651.

[4] I have examined the letters throughout 1802 and 1803 of the Dutch ambassador at Madrid, and of the Chargé d'Affaires (Nieuwerkercke) who during much of that period was in charge there. A few are in cipher, but a contemporary decipherment accompanies them. Guiana is scarcely mentioned, and the boundary never. The only trouble between the Dutch and Spanish colonies touched on is the old one about the return of runaway slaves.

[5] Extracts, pp. 659–662.

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the seventeenth century, looked on by the Dutch as open to colonization; but no exclusive claim to that coast, as a whole, seems ever to have been made by them.

2. From 1621 to 1674 the right to colonize that coast on behalf of the Dutch was vested in the Dutch West India Company, which was empowered by its charter to settle unoccupied districts. That Company, while freely exercising this right of colonization, and granting lands for its exercise by others, has left on record no definition of the limits of its occupation in Guiana, and no claim as to a boundary on the side of the Spanish colonies.

3. From 1674 a new West India Company, which had received by its charter no other lands on the American Continent than "the places of Essequibo and Pomeroon," owned and governed the Dutch colonies in western Guiana. The boundaries of these "places," undefined by the charter, were left undefined by the Company, and (save for certain claims put forth by the Zeeland Chamber when in schism with the rest of the Company) remained undefined until the year 1769.

4. In 1758, the Governor of these Dutch colonies addressed to the Governor of Spanish Guiana a remonstrance against Spanish aggressions, in which he claimed for the Dutch the boundary laid down on the map of D'Anville. This claim was made, however, without authority from the West India Company or from the State, and was not urged in the remonstrance (1759) addressed on this occasion at the instance of the Company by the States-General to the Court of Spain.

5. But, in 1769, another remonstrance to the Spanish Court, drawn by the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company, urged by the Stadhouder, and adopted by the States-General, stated or implied definite claims as to territorial boundary in Guiana. On the coast the Dutch territory is represented as

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stretching to beyond the Waini; in the interior, to a point between the Dutch post on the Cuyuni and the nearest Spanish missions. This is the one document known to the diplomatic correspondence of the two countries which suggests the place of the boundary.

6. In 1792 the Guiana colonies reverted to the State, but no fresh claim was made as to this boundary; and, though in 1801–1802 the Dutch Council of the Colonies conceived a project for the delimitation at the Congress of Amiens of the Guiana boundary, fixing it, if possible, at the Orinoco or the Barima, the project was abandoned and remained a secret.

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11. SPANISH OCCUPATION AND CLAIM IN GUIANA.

The only Spanish settlement on the Orinoco or east of it which is known to Dutch records before the eighteenth century is that of Santo Thomé. At least I have found no mention of a Spanish settlement which may not readily be identified with Santo Thomé;[1] and the careful accounts of these coasts given in 1598 by Cabeliau[2] and in 1637 by Ousiel[3] show that at those dates, at least, the Dutch had no knowledge of other Spanish occupation in this region.[4] It was, indeed, not until almost the middle of the eighteenth century that there is mention in the Essequibo papers of that spread from the Orinoco inward of the Indian missions of the Catalonian Capuchins, which, from Spanish and ecclesiastical records, we know to have begun as early as 1724.

On July 20, 1746, Governor Storm van 's Gravesande wrote to the Dutch West India Company, on the word of an Essequibo trader, confirming a report received some months earlier from the Caribs, that the Spaniards had established a mission up the Cuyuni, and had built a small fort there, and that they were busy making brick with the intention of founding in the

[1] Extracts, pp. 26, 30, 54, 77, 81.

[2] Extracts, pp. 13–22.

[3] Extracts, pp. 77, 83–95.

[4] There was, indeed, a Dutch tradition as to an early Spanish occupation further east (see pp. 182, 367, above). The evidence for the presence of the Spaniards in the Essequibo is discussed by Professor Jameson (pp. 46–52, above), and in my paper *On the Historical Maps* (vol. iii, pp. 188–191).

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next year yet another mission and fort some hours further down the river toward Essequibo.[1] Six months later he again wrote of the mission and fort "erected by the Spaniards up in Cuyuni," and of that to be founded next year;[2] and in March, 1747, he could not only renew his mention of "the mission and fort up in Cuyuni, and of the intention to build this year yet another fort there, but some [Dutch] miles lower," but could add: "which they are now proceeding to do, according to the report of those who come down that river with mules." On December 2, 1748, however, he corrected this, stating that a trader, who had been requested carefully to spy out the goings of the Spaniards in that region, "has made report to me that the Spaniards had not yet undertaken the building of any forts or missions lower down, as had been their intention."[3]

On learning of these Spanish movements in the Cuyuni the West India Company had asked the Essequibo governor for an accurate chart of the colony.[4] He had undertaken the task himself; and, when his first map was lost on its way to Holland, he made another. This map (dated August 9, 1748, though not completed or sent until late in 1749) is still extant.[5] In the letter of transmission (September 8, 1749) he thus writes of the Spanish missions: "Having written to the Governor of Cumaná, that, if the design of founding a mission on the river Cuyuni were persisted in, I should be obliged forcibly to oppose it, he replied to me that such was without his knowledge (not the founding of the new mission, but the site) and that it should not be progressed with; and, in reality, nothing has been done in the matter. On the map you will find the site marked, as also that of the one already established."[6] Now, it is evident, I think, that the two missions thus spoken of—the one

[1] Extracts, p. 306.
[2] Extracts, p. 308.
[3] Extracts, p. 322.
[4] Extracts, pp. 313, 314.
[5] Atlas of the Commission, map 60.
[6] Extracts, p. 327.

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established, the other projected—are the same two of which he has heretofore written, the only two of whose actual or intended existence in the upper Cuyuni he has had knowledge. Yet it is evident, even before looking at his map, that his conception of their place has been modified. It is now only the projected mission which is "on the river Cuyuni." The map bears this out. At a point on the upper Cuyuni where it receives a tributary from the north—the only such tributary shown by the map—is marked a cross, with the words (in Dutch): "Place where the Spaniards purposed to establish a mission." On the same tributary, some miles higher up and on its opposite bank, is shown a house, with the name "Spanish mission."

A few months later Governor Storm visited Holland, and there in person complained to the Company of the neighboring Spaniards, "who, under pretext of establishing their missions, are fortifying themselves everywhere."[1] To illustrate this he submitted a map, which he declared to be "drawn up by the Spaniards themselves." This little map, which is also still extant,[2] and which is doubtless the one elsewhere described by Storm as copied from that drawn by the Jesuits sent a year or two before with an exploring expedition to the sources of the Cuyuni, shows likewise, at points answering to those on Storm's map, what seem meant for two Spanish missions.[3] That at the junction of the Cuyuni with its northern tributary is marked (in Dutch) "New Mission." That above, which here seems on the eastern bank of the stream, is marked "Missions[4] of the Capuchins." But the map adds an

[1] Extracts, p. 330.

[2] Atlas of the Commission, map 61.

[3] For a more detailed discussion of this map, see in vol. iii the report on Maps from Official Sources, pp. 131–134.

[4] This plural, *Missien*, is puzzling. It may be suggested that this inscription is meant to denote these missions as a whole. But this is unlikely, for there is also on the map the title "Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins," corresponding to "Missions of the Jesuits" and "Missions of the Aragonese Capuchins." It is more probably only an error for *mission* or *missie*. There are other such slips on the map.

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interesting aid to the identification of these sites: the tributary here bears a name—"Meejou."[1] Storm, too, knows this name,[2] for, in a letter of September 2, 1754, reviewing this episode, he wrote: "You will certainly recollect that I had the honor some years ago to inform you that they [the Spaniards] had located a mission on the creek Mejou, which flows into the Cuyuni, whereupon you did me the honor to command that I must try to hinder it, but without appearing therein. I do not discuss the reasons which induced you to command this secrecy, when that mission was so absolutely and indisputably in our territory; but before I was honored with that order I had written to the Governor of Cumaná and made my

[1] In the reproduction of this map (from a free-hand copy) in the atlas (Appendix No. III, map 5) to the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," this name is spelled *Meejon;* and the British translators have also read as an *n* the final letter of this word in Storm's missive of September 2, 1754. It is on this reading that is based the identification of the stream with the Miamo. But the reading is an error. In the map the letter (as will be seen from the photographic reproduction in the atlas of the Commission) is unmistakably a *u*. I have examined the word repeatedly, and with a magnifying glass, in the original of this map at The Hague. The *n*'s of the map are made very differently; its *u*'s are all like this. In Storm's letter of September, 1754, the character looks more like a *u* than an *n;* but, as Storm had the bad habit of making his *u*'s and his *n*'s alike, little weight can be attached to this. But in his account of the Company's trading posts, transmitted in 1764 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 129), Storm writes of another "creek Meejou, also called Maho," in the region of the Rupununi; even the British translators here read *u*. And what puts Storm's spelling of the name beyond question is a letter of June 3, 1769 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 167). Speaking again of this southern Meejou, he here writes: "The river called Maho on D'Anville's map is called Mejou here by the Indians. There is one of the same name up in Cuyuni." It may be added that Indian names of streams are often derived from those of familiar objects, and that *Mejou* is the Carib word for cassava bread. (Thus Adelung, *Mithridates,* Th. 3, Abth. 2, citing both Boyer and Biet.) Hartsinck, too, who knew of Storm's explorations through another channel than his letters to the Company, spells the name *Mejou*—"the creek Mejou, where the Spaniards founded a mission." "And further up," he adds, the Cuyuni "is joined by the Juruary [Yuruari]." (*Beschryving van Guiana,* i, p. 264.)

[2] If Storm's map, as is else not improbable, derived from the Jesuit map its locations for the missions, it is strange that it omits this name. It may in the Jesuit map be only an addition of the Dutch copyist. And it is not impossible that the indication of the two missions on the creek Mejou has been added to the map by Dutch hands.

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complaint, requesting that he would cause that mission to remove from there, and adding that I should otherwise be compelled, though unwillingly, to use means which would certainly be disagreeable to him. This had the desired effect, for I received a very polite reply, and not only was that mission actually withdrawn, but one of its ecclesiastics was even sent hither with the assurance that this had been done unwittingly."[1]

The secretary, Spoors, who had been left as acting governor in the colony during Storm's visit to Holland, had also mentioned these Spanish missions (September 8, 1750),[2] taking a different view as to the territory involved. Concerning those missions "which are said to have been constructed up in the River Cuyuni," he wrote, "I am instructed that they are decidedly nearer to the side of the Spanish than to our territory." As for "a new mission close by here," which Storm, at his departure, had given him "to understand that there was information that the Spaniards were beginning to construct," he had carefully informed himself about it through a colonist who in person had gone thither, and had been assured "that the last mission which is being constructed is in a certain little river called Imataca, situated far off in Orinoco." This, in the secretary's opinion, was "certainly far outside the concern of this colony." Six months later (March 6, 1751)[3] Acting Governor Spoors informed the Company, on the word of the same Essequibo trader, that "in the month of January the Carib nation made a raid upon three Spanish missions and murdered four or five priests;" and Storm van 's Gravesande was scarcely back in the colony before he could report (August

[1] Extracts, p. 348.
[2] Extracts, pp. 334, 335.
[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 95.

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4, 1752)[1] that the Caribs "lately overran two missions and have murdered everyone there." A year or two later (August 19, 1754) a Dutchman resident in Orinoco, writing to warn the Essequibo colony of a projected Spanish invasion, declared that the project "comes from nowhere but from the priests here in Orinoco, for in the year 1751 they informed the King, when the Caribs here in Orinoco raided and burned the missions," that Dutchmen lurking among the Indians incited them to the mischief.[2]

Such is, in full, the evidence of the Dutch records as to the Spanish missions existing prior to 1754. Before attempting its interpretation it will be well to call to mind what we know from Spanish records of these missions in the Cuyuni basin. From these we learn, mainly on the testimony of the missionaries themselves, that as early as 1733[3] they pushed across the divide into the region drained by the Cuyuni and planted a mission at Cupapuy, near the head waters of a tributary of the Yuruari; that in 1737 they established on the Yuruari itself the mission and cattle ranch of Divina Pastora; that in 1743 they created 10 leagues to the east of Divina Pastora, on the Cunuri near its junction with the Miamo, the village of Cunuri, composed at first of Panacays, then of Caribs;[4] that in this

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 96.

[2] Extracts, pp. 344, 345.

[3] For these dates of the missions I may refer to the table appended to my paper on the Historical Maps (vol. iii of this report, pp. 211–213), and also to pp. 195–203 of that paper. I am sorry that when compiling the table I lost from sight the interesting report of these missions (printed in the Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 263–269) made by their prefect to the governor on September 12, 1770. Save for two or three trifling variations in dates (1753 instead of 1755 for the founding of Aima, 1769 instead of 1768 for Maruanta, 1769 instead of 1770 for Panapana), it only confirms what is shown by the table; but I might have learned from it, in addition, the invocation (saint's name) of Cavallapi (*Nuestra Señora de La Soledad*), of Maruanta (*Santa Rosa*), and of Panapana (*La Purisima Concepcion*), with one or two minor details possibly worthy of note.

[4] Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 67, 68.

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same year 1743 it was their plan to place "on the banks of the Yuruari River, the Carib frontier," a day and a half beyond Divina Pastora, a settlement, "where a fort is to be constructed, with four swivel guns, six armed men"[1]—doubtless that first Carib mission of Tupuquen which was destroyed by a revolt of its Indians in 1750, but was reestablished at this spot twenty years later. These, as seems clear from the request for garrisons presented in 1745 by the prefect of these missions,[1] were the only missions then in existence in this advanced region. For the next few years there is a dearth of documents. From sources of much later date it appears that 1746 was the year of the founding of the mission of Palmar, and at somewhere about this time there was transferred from the Orinoco to a site a little farther westward on these same slopes the old mission of Santa Maria; but both of these were too far in the rear of those just mentioned to have caused alarm to the Dutch in 1746. In 1748 a Carib mission bearing the name of Miamo was founded on the river of that name above the Cuyuni. This, too, though nearer, was still remote from the Dutch. Two other missions, however, whose existence though brief is none the less certain, must have lain between all those already named and the outskirts of the Dutch colony. These were Curumo and Mutanambo. Their sites are partially suggested by their names, for it was the custom of the missions to take the name of the streams by which they stood, and these are the names of well-known rivers—the Curumo a tributary of the Cuyuni, the Mutanambo[2] of the Curumo. The date of their

[1] Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 70.

[2] The name Mutanambo (spelled also Butunambo, Botonamo—variations which will surprise no student of phonetic laws) is given to the second great northern branch of the Curumo in the journal of Lopez de la Puente in 1789 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 338; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 251) and in the map of Codazzi (than which two there can be for this region no higher authorities), as well as in many later maps, such as the great colonial map of British Guiana (Atlas, map 49).

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foundation is nowhere given, but, for reasons above stated, it must be later than 1743. "There was a revolt in the year 1750," wrote, in 1769, the man who of all men must best have known—the veteran prefect of the missions, Father Benito de la Garriga, who had himself in 1750 been a resident at that of Tupuquen—"when all the Caribs of our five missions of Miamo, Cunuri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and Mutanambo rose and killed four soldiers of the escort and eight Spaniards, committing many other kinds of outrages." And Father Benito relates how the Caribs, returning after a year, revealed "that they had done what they did at the instance of the Hollanders, who taught them the way of doing it, selecting ten Caribs beforehand to each father and ten more to each soldier."[1] Nay, Father Benito had even learned the cause of the plot, and that the special grievance was the site of the mission of Curumo. "On one occasion," he said, he had "complained to a Dutch Hollander (arrived from Essequibo to reside in Guayana) about the cause of the revolt of the Caribs of our missions in 1750, and he answered that it was because the fathers made the sites of their missions within their [i. e., the Dutch] territory; that that of Curumo overstepped the line they drew from the mouth of the Aguire River to the south."[2]

Father Benito's is by no means the earliest mention we have of this Curumo mission. More than a dozen years earlier, in 1755, Colonel Don Eugenio Alvarado, who had been sent by the

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And see, too, the words of Fray Caulin, quoted in the note on p. 387. According to Mr. Dixon (*Geographical Journal*, vol. 5, p. 340), who in 1895, on his journey up the Cuyuni, passed the mouth of the Curumo, the latter river is now "called by the Venezuelans Botonamo;" and it is perhaps on his authority that this is made an alternative name for the Curumo on the sketch map of the Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3." But Mr. Dixon does not state the source of his knowledge, and it is hard not to suspect a misunderstanding.

[1] Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 143, 144; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118.

[2] Venezuelan "Documents," II, p. 151.

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Spanish Rear-Admiral, Iturriaga, the commander of that Spanish force in Orinoco whose presence caused such panic in the neighboring Dutch colony, to make secret reconnoissance among these Capuchin missions, speaks, in his report, of "the destroyed missions of Cuniri, Tupuquen, Curumo, and that of Miamo, which were swept away by the relentless fury of the Caribs."[1] Regarding one of these he had, indeed, been expressly charged to report. "In regard to the mission of Cuniri, burned down by the Caribs a few years before, which takes its name from a river of that name which flows into the Essequibo, according to general opinion, Alvarado is instructed to inform himself of this, as well as the distance to the said river Essequibo, and if this way be open at present and practicable, for many have traversed that route and found it very short." Is not the suspicion irresistible that Cuniri is but a slip, and that Curumo was the mission meant?[2] But Alvarado took his instructions literally. "The village of Cuniri," he reported, "was burned and destroyed by the Caribs in the year 1751, with various others, . . . and the river which passes close to it gave its name to the mission." And he proceeds to explain that the Cuniri flows, not directly into the Essequibo, but into the Yuruari.[3] Could the general in chief have failed to know that from the friars?

Of the existence or the destruction of the missions of Curumo and Mutanambo, one finds other mention in the records of this period;[4] but it remained for a later prefect of

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 85.

[2] For the importance of the river *Curumo* as a short route to the Essequibo, see p. 313, note.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 85, 86.

[4] Strickland, *Documents and Maps on the Boundary Question*, p. 22; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 270. ("*Cummu*" in the translated passage last named is a palpable misreading of *Curumu*. "Cumamo," suggested by the editor, is impossible; all authorities agree that the mission of Cumamo was first founded in 1767.)

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the missions to throw fresh light on their site. When in 1788 it was objected to the new foundation of Tumeremo, near the river Curumo, that this new mission was too near the Cuyuni, Father Buenaventura de San Celonio replied that "the site of Curumo was less distant."[1] Had Mutanambo also lain below, that, too, would have been named. But on this point there is graphic evidence. The great Spanish map of South America put forth at Madrid in 1775 by the royal geographer, Cruz Cano y Olmedilla,[2] shows, on the branch of the Curumo still known as Mutanambo, a mission marked with that name. It shows no mission named Curumo, nor any mission lower than Mutanambo in that region; but on the map of Spanish Guiana (Nueva Andalucia), officially prepared three years later in the Spanish archives of the Indies,[3] and published under royal sanction in the history of that province by Fray Caulin, this want is more than made good. *Two* missions are shown below Mutanambo; one of them on the east of the Curumo, near the junction of the Tocupo, the other near the site of the later Tumeremo. Neither bears a name. These maps have their errors, and these may be of them; but what they show as to missions beyond the Curumo is not contradicted by the evidence of the documents.

Least of all by the Dutch documents. Let us return to these. Which of all these missions known to Spanish records could have been that one mission—on the creek Mejou, not far from the Cuyuni—of whose existence alone the Dutch of Essequibo seem conscious at the middle of the eighteenth century? Was it Tupuquen, on the Yuruari? But the Yuruari was already known by that name, not only by the Indians and by the Spaniards, but (if the stream meant in Storm's letter of May

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 333; Venezuelan "Documents," III, p. 218.
[2] Atlas of the Commission, map 50.
[3] Atlas of the Commission, map 71.

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31, 1755,[1] was, as is assumed by the British scholars, and as at least is probable, really the Yuruari[2]) also to the Dutch. And Tupuquen, if established, as planned, in 1743, should have startled the Dutch, if at all, before 1746. Why not Curumo, on the river of its name? That stream, unless it be the Mejou, bears no name in Dutch records; yet it was well known to the Dutch traders. It was that stream, not the Yuruari, so reported the Spanish missionaries, which the Dutch made the avenue of that slave traffic with the Caribs which especially took them into these parts. From its upper waters, ascending by its main stream or by its branch, the Tocupo, or doubtless by the Mutanambo as well, they made their way across the Orinoco watershed, the hills of Imataca, to the Aguire, the Barima, or the Barama, and so homeward by the Moruca; or, as perhaps more often, reversing the journey, they crossed from Barama, Barima, or Aguire to the head waters of the Curumo, and pushed down to its junction with the Cuyuni, whither to meet them, by way of the Avechica and the Yuruan, came the slave-bringing Caribs of the upper Orinoco. Such, at least, was the belief of the Spanish missionaries;[3] and the belief of

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 103. Extracts, p. 364.

[2] For discussion, see pp. 321, 334, 335, above.

[3] We know it especially from Father Benito de la Garriga, more than once their prefect. See Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235–237 (also in "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 93–96; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 3–9); Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 141–152. "The Curumo," says Fray Cauliu, writing in 1759, "receives the waters of the Mutanambo and the Tocupo, which have their source in the hills of Imataca; and it would be most expedient that at the mouth either of the Curumo or of the Yuruari there should be built, from the materials offered by this region, some sort of fort, with a garrison of six or eight men. For, in the first place, since the passage of the Dutch [up the Orinoco] has been hindered by the citadel of Guayana and barred anew by the closure of the Limones channel, the rivers Cuyuni and Yuruari offer to them free passage for the abduction of slaves, as also to the Caribs for the conveyance of these to them. In the second place [this is needed] for the security of the new Guayana missions at Abachica [Avechica] and Yuruario, which they can now attack, as they are well skilled in doing, for the success of the missions makes impossible their slave trade, which is their most lucrative business. And, in

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the Spanish missionaries counted for not less than the facts, for it was they who located the missions.[1]

Their location of the missions can be understood only by remembering that its chief directing motive was their constant, inveterate crusade against the trade in Indian slaves. It was not to them merely a sentiment: it was, on their own testimony, matter of life and death. If they would win the Indians or hold them in their missions, they must protect them against the Caribs; and there was no protecting them against the

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the third place, in order that, being restrained within the limits of the colonies they have already founded, they may gain no more territory, and may not with their ingress undertake other serious encroachments in points of much importance."—(*Historia de la Nueva Andalucia*, p. 56.) See also his passage as to the traffic through the Aguire, quoted in the note on p. 299.

[1] It was not necessary for the missionaries to obtain first the consent of the Spanish authorities to the establishment of a new mission, or even to notify them of it. In 1788, the Capuchin prefect, writing to the Spanish governor, Marmion, who grumbled (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 335, 336) at the incompleteness and inaccuracy of the reports received by him of the missions, explicitly declared (Blue Book, pp. 332, 333) that the selection of a site for a new mission was a matter for the friars alone. "By virtue," he said, "of an ordinance approved by the King, we have received commands that, among other things, the prefect and assistants are to assemble for the purpose of deliberating upon the sites for new reductions. This has always been done whenever it has been considered necessary to found any village of Indians. Precisely as ordered, and in the manner prescribed, those sites have been sought which would most conduce to the well-being of the Indians and the service of our Sovereign. And this appears to us to be quite in conformity with the laws relating to the foundation of villages of Indians." He adds, it is true, that the friars did not therefore deem it superfluous to request the governor's approval of a new mission, since the latter was always at liberty to inform them that such a site was not adapted for settling, and since, to obtain the grant pledged by the crown for the equipment of the new mission church and the added clergy requisite for the new villages, the approval or mediation of the governor was needed. But the initiative lay with the friars, and it is clear that a report might lag much behind their act. It is to be noticed, too, that such information as they did give the governors might be given "very confidentially." (Blue Book, p. 336.) It is interesting, in the present connection, to note that, in the same letter in which the Capuchin prefect thus sets forth to the governor the right of the friars to the initiative, he says of the mission of Curumo, in particular, that in spite of its nearness to the Cuyuni "there was no difficulty made by one of your predecessors in allowing it to be founded, although, on account of the Caribs having risen, who were dwelling in that place, it has not been again founded."

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Caribs, unless by barring the rivers, which were the only highways, they could keep out the Dutch traders with their gewgaws and their rum. Therefore it was that, pushing far afield, they had fortified and garrisoned themselves at Tupuquen, at Cunuri, at Miamo, and so cut off the Caribs of the upper Orinoco from their shortest route by the Yuruari and the Miamo to the Dutch traders in the Aguire. Thus it was, a little later, that they cut off, by planting a mission at Avechica or Supama, the route from the Caroni to the Cuyuni. Thus it was that, having secured the Yuruari by the founding of Tupuquen, it was next the most natural step to push across and plant themselves on the Curumo. From the one stream to the other stretched that savanna country where they were safest from the surprises of the Caribs and where throve the cattle which were their greatest source of revenue—the cattle for which in this very year, 1746, when the Dutch first complain of the missions, there seemed a new and most tempting market opened to them by Courthial's road from Essequibo, issuing from the forest just east of the Curumo.[1] And that the new mission, if on the Curumo, should be placed on the east of the stream at its junction with the Tocupo, where it might bar both those avenues (at the site where it is shown by the map of Surville, and apparently also by the little Jesuit map),[2] was at least extremely likely.

If, too, the Curumo were really that creek Mejou on which the mission was planted in 1746, it is no longer so strange that Governor Storm should write of it as if it were the earliest of its sort. To the traders who brought him the tidings, the closing of this cardinal route might well seem the first

[1] Cf. pp. 313, 314, 318–320, above.

[2] Atlas, maps 71, 61. The map of Storm van 's Gravesande (Atlas, map 60), if I interpret it rightly, differs only in placing the mission on the *west* of the Curumo at this point.

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real invasion of Dutch rights. On the Yuruari the Spaniards had been for a decade, and their presence there may have become a commonplace before Storm's advent in the colony.

Nor is the name a serious obstacle. Curumo, or Curumu (as it was often spelt), hardly suggests Mejou or Maho. Yet, when one remembers that *curu* was through all this region a common Carib suffix for creek,[1] appended still to the names of many streams, it does not seem improbable that to the ear of Storm van 's Gravesande or of his trader informants "Curumo" or "Curumu" should have sounded like Curu-Maho or Curu-Mejou, "creek Mejou."

Be all that as it may, at the middle of the eighteenth century there existed Spanish missions named Curumo and Mutanambo. If they existed, they almost certainly existed on the rivers bearing then and still those names. And if they existed on those rivers, it is they, and not the missions of the Yuruari, which were likely to catch the attention and stir the alarm of the Dutch.

Yet it is not of *two* missions actually established in the creek Mejou that the Dutch reports speak, but only of one actual, another projected but withdrawn. The site of the projected mission, as appears clearly at last both from the letters and the maps, was at the junction of that creek with the Cuyuni. This falls in, too, with all else we know. That, having shut off the Curumo, the Capuchins should next seek to shut off the Cuyuni was natural; and it was not less natural that they should attempt it by way of the more navigable Curumo instead of the Yuruari.[2] But we are not left wholly to inference. In 1758, the Capuchin prefect, Father Benito de la Garriga, was urging this as the proper site for a garrisoned

[1] Cf. note, p. 331, above.

[2] Cf. pp. 313, 314, above.

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village.[1] It is in no wise improbable that Father Benito, who had been here since 1746,[2] may have urged it before, or as prefect may have attempted to carry it out alone, until checked by the Spanish governor at the protest of the Dutch. A little later in this same year 1758 another Capuchin reported to the prefect that he too had written the governor urging "the projected village of Accoways with fort and garrison, and had asked "ten soldiers for the Accoway village of the Cuyuni."[3] Of this project of a village at the junction of Curumo and Cuyuni one hears much before in 1792 it was finally realized by the establishment there of a Spanish post.[4]

And Mutanambo? Is it improbable that the incipient mission thus drawn back at Dutch request in 1749 from the mouth of the Curumo[5] was placed at Mutanambo, above on that river? The mission lists know, at least, of no other established in that year.

In thinking the advance of the Spanish missions permanently checked, the Dutch governor had deceived himself. "I have at this moment received information," he wrote the West India Company on September 2, 1754, "that the Spaniards . . . have established two missions above in Cuyuni, and garrisoned them with men. . . . These two missions are not in the creek Mejou, but some miles lower, on the river Cuyuni itself."[6]

One, at least, of these two missions was not long to cause

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235–237 (also in "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 93–96, and Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 3–9). So, too, in 1759, was Fray Caulin. See his words quoted in the note on p. 387.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 282.

[3] Strickland, "Documents and Maps," pp. 6, 7.

[4] Report of the Commission, vol. ii, pp. 665–671; cf. vol. iii, p. 208. It would even appear from later documents (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 345, 347) that a royal order for its establishment was issued as early as December, 1763.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 92, 99; Extracts, pp. 327, 348.

[6] Extracts, p. 348.

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anxiety. Scarcely a month later, on October 12, 1754, Governor Storm could report that he had learned from a chief of the Caribs, how, furious at the Spaniards because they had located a mission in Cuyuni between them and the tribe of the Panacays, and thereby tried "to hinder their communication with that nation, and entirely to prevent their whole slave trade on that side," they had made an alliance with the Panacays, and both together had surprised the mission, massacred the priest and ten or twelve Spaniards, and had demolished the buildings.[1] "This sad accident for the Spaniards," adds the governor, "has covered us on that side." It can hardly be rash to conjecture that the mission which was thus summarily ended, perhaps not without Dutch prompting, and which could not, according to Storm's earlier description, have been higher up than the mouth of the Curumo, was at that much-mooted site. That precisely that site would be occupied at the earliest fresh advance of the missions was probable, and that it would be especially vexatious to the Caribs was not doubtful. In default of further data for inference, it may hesitantly be ascribed to that site.[2]

What may have been the relation of these occurrences to the establishment in the Cuyuni of a Dutch post, of whose existence we first learn from the governor's letter of May 31,

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 100.

[2] I regret that, by oversight, in my historical maps, as printed (Atlas of the Commission, maps 11, 15), a question mark does not appear after this ascription of site. A location had to be assigned, at least conjecturally, and the sources of our knowledge (quoted in full above) required it to be either *here or below* on the Cuyuni. That it was here, rather than below, is merely probable, and the sources are too scanty for positive ascription of any sort. The passage next to be discussed, might, if Governor Storm's estimate of distance be taken seriously, suggest the belief that one of these missions was much lower down. Of circumstances which seem to make this possible, at least, I have spoken fully on pp. 395–398, below. But I should be sorry to base aught save the most hesitant conjecture on evidence so vague and so unsupported.

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1755, is matter for inference only. It can hardly be doubted, however, that this fresh Spanish advance was the foremost of the "weighty reasons" why, as he reports in the same letter, he has at his house the chiefs of the Panacay tribe from up in Cuyuni, and "must absolutely keep it friendly." For he was convinced that the Spaniards would "try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to approach us and hem us in; and it is certain," he adds, "that they now have taken complete possession of the creek Orawary, emptying into the the Cuyuni, which indisputably is your territory. The post located by order of the Council above in Cuyuni, is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings."

In another connection,[1] I have already discussed the bearing of this passage on the location of the Dutch post. Suffice it here to repeat that, though probable, it is not certain that Orawary means Yuruari, and that it is still less certain that by the Spanish dwellings not more than ten or twelve hours above the post are meant those of the creek Orawary.[2] In any case, this passage can hardly help to interpret the preceding ones, for neither the one Spanish mission known to have been founded in this year on the Yuruari (that called at first by the name of this river and later by that of the Aima, at whose confluence it perhaps originally stood),[3] nor any other possible establishment there, could answer the

[1] See pp. 321, 334, 335, above.

[2] It may be further remarked, however, that, if Storm had located on the map of D'Anville, at a point fifteen hours above the mouth of the Cuyuni, the site of the Dutch post, and had then laid off ten or twelve hours up the Cuyuni from that point, he would nearly or quite have reached the mouth of the Yuruari, as shown by that map. (See atlas of the Commission, maps 39, 40, 62.) True, we do not know Storm to have owned a copy of this map till later; but it was shown him in 1750, and it is more than possible that he retained a tracing of it. (See pp. 365, 369, with notes, and also pp. 134, 135, of vol. iii.) Yet it is strange that, if he used D'Anville's map, he did not use D'Anville's spelling.

[3] See vol. iii, pp. 205, 206.

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description of the "two missions . . . on the river Cuyuni itself," or be counted to lie on the road between the Caribs and the Panacays.

A document transmitted by the governor in the following year offers more of suggestion. This is a letter addressed him on July 7, 1756, by the under-postholder in charge of the post Arinda, in the upper Essequibo, near the mouth of the Siparuni. Its contents are startling, and its tone too panic-stricken to inspire the fullest confidence. Three Europeans, reports this functionary, have made themselves masters of the entire savanna above. He believes that they are Spaniards, and that these Spaniards, who are taking possession everywhere, come by way of Cuyuni. "You must know," he writes, "that they have three fast places, one in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni, the second up in Mazaruni in Queribura, the third up in Siparuni at Mawakken; those places are all gruesomely strong." And he adds much as to the strange conduct of the Indians.[1]

The governor himself, though skeptical as to the report, found in it much reason for anxiety. And as he was writing of it to the Company there arrived a colonist from up in Mazaruni to give information which seemed to him to confirm the report of the bylier. This colonist, Couvreur, reported "that various Indians from above have retreated to his place; that between two and three days' journey above his plantation" (which is equal, explains the governor, to about twelve, or at most fifteen, Dutch "hours") "there live some whites who have there a great house and more than two hundred Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things and are able to keep under absolute command." Couvreur proposed, with the governor's approval, to form a party, go up the river, and kidnap

[1] Extracts, pp. 370, 371.

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these interlopers; and the governor provisionally accepted the project.[1]

Couvreur's tidings seem unmistakably to point to a Spanish mission; and, remembering the forts that always attended these missions, the bylier's may mean nothing more. Nor is it necessary to suppose them permanent missions. It was on their *entradas*, the organized expeditions for the gathering (often by constraint) of Indians for the mission villages, that the friars ventured farthest afield, and their sojourns for this purpose were sometimes of considerable length.[2] Such an *entrada* into the immediate neighborhood of the Dutch would doubtless have fortified with some care the places of its halts; yet the "gruesomely strong" forts of the bylier's letter, if it may be credited, seem to imply something more than a mere *entrada*.

Two or three things in the circumstances of the time make the story less surprising. In the first place, the presence in Spanish Guayana at this time of a large military force for the prosecution of the great boundary survey between the dominions of Spain and Portugal in South America must of itself have emboldened the missionaries to fresh enterprises. The panic created in the neighboring Dutch colony by the neighborhood of this Spanish force and the chronic foreboding which followed play a great part in the correspondence of Essequibo, and even of the Dutch Government, during this period. But, what is more to the purpose, we now know that all this anxiety was justified. The secret correspondence between Spain and Portugal lately published by Great Britain[3]

[1] Extracts, p. 369.

[2] Father Strickland prints (*Documents and Maps*, pp. 48–52) an account, by one of these Capuchins, of such an *entrada* into the upper Caroni in 1788, in which the party consisted of two friars, nine Spaniards (doubtless soldiers), and enough Indians to make the whole number a hundred persons. They were out from April until the vigil of St. Peter's day.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 70–83.

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contains not only full evidence of an explicit agreement between those two Governments for crowding the Dutch out of Guiana, but gives in detail the method to be pursued. Spain and Portugal were to form settlements, each from its own side, thus by degrees "forming a semicircle in the interior, above and beyond the territory they [the Dutch] occupy." "In keeping them thus surrounded," says the document setting forth the scheme, "we are in front of the territory where the revolted negro slaves of the Dutch dwell, and can easily give them help covertly for their raids against those colonies."[1] Accordingly, before leaving Spain in 1754, Iturriaga, the commander on the Orinoco of the Spanish expedition, received confidential instructions to learn fully about the Capuchin missions, and whether they continued advancing their villages toward the Dutch;[2] to use the most effective means possible for the dislodging of the foreigners on the coast of Guiana, or for hemming them in;[3] and, especially, to communicate with the colonies of fugitive slaves dwelling at the back of the Dutch, sending and leaving among them some Spanish ringleaders to head them in their raids.[3] To this end, early in 1756, Iturriaga arranged with the Capuchin prefect (again Father Benito de la Garriga) to undertake in person the errand to the revolted negroes of Surinam, promising him a Spanish guard, but leaving him free as to route, time, and manner. The journey, according to the Indians, was one of twenty days; but, in Iturriaga's opinion, it would be "one of a month and a half for the priests, with Indians and a guard of soldiers." Father Benito wished to wait until the following January, maintaining that to be the proper season; but Iturriaga was "trying to make him undertake the journey this summer," and,

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 73.
[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 79.
[3] *Id.*, p. 80.

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with the help of a "cedula" demanded, still hoped to succeed. Thus wrote the Spanish commander in May, 1756.[1] The strange letter of the Arinda bylier was written in July of that year.

In 1755, moreover, report had been made to the Spanish commander that the Dutch had explored the Essequibo up to the immediate neighborhood of Lake Parima, and had even surveyed an affluent of the Rio Negro offering a way of communication with the Amazon.[2] Now, the use of such communications by foreigners he had been expressly charged to prevent.[3] It should be further pointed out that he was instructed "to make an effort to see if it be possible to pacify and reduce the Carib nation, and bring them into our missions."[4] In view of all this, it is possible that neither the new missions of 1754 on the Cuyuni nor the Spanish doings reported beyond that river in 1756 will seem so strange.

There was one other circumstance not less worth remembering. The Indian nation which held the paths from the Cuyuni savanna to the upper Essequibo, that of the Accoways, or Guaicas,[5] was now at open war with the Dutch. Enraged at a settler, who had incited their hereditary foes, the Caribs, to an

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 86, 87.

[2] *Id.*, p. 86.

[3] *Id.*, p. 80. It is true that, in the light of our present knowledge, the communication by the Cassiquiare might seem alone meant. But this communication was then problematical, Father Gumilla himself denying its existence; and Iturriaga was unlikely to draw fine distinctions.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 81, 82.

[5] By some a distinction has been attempted between Accoway and Guaica; though, if not identical, they are admittedly closely akin. But to the Dutch and to the Capuchins, at least, they were identical—the name Accoway alone being used by the Dutch, the name Guaica by the Capuchins. Hilhouse, the first Englishman to ascend the Cuyuni, who had been colonial surveyor and protector of the Indians, unhesitatingly identifies them. "All the old inhabitants, both Accoway and Caribisce above this," he wrote in his journal at the mouth of the Curumo, "were converts of these missions."—(*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1837, p. 450.)

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assault upon them, they had in the summer of 1755 attacked the Essequibo colony, and had so frightened the planters in the Mazaruni that these had retired to an island with their slaves and valuables, and dared not sleep on their plantations.[1] At midsummer of 1756 the danger was still at its height; and, at the time of receiving the report of the Arinda bylier and the message brought by the Mazaruni planter, the governor, on account of this Accoway war, since he could not yet "imagine how this matter will turn out," and counted it "of the extremest importance to this colony," had found it necessary to leave a garrison at the old fort Kykoveral.[2] The Spanish Capuchins, on the other hand, seem now on the friendliest terms with this most warlike and powerful of the up-country tribes. Their new village planted on the Yuruari in 1755, was composed of these.[3] A Dutch spy, sent in 1765 up to the missions, found there "swarms of Accoways," and reported that "the missionaries are the cause of the war between the Caribs and that tribe, the natives being incited and provided with arms by them."[4] It need not, then, have been extremely hazardous for the Spanish Capuchins to undertake at this juncture to establish themselves beyond the Cuyuni.

Of the three forts named by the bylier, that "in Wenamu, a branch of Cuyuni," lay nearest their point of departure. The Wenamu joins the Cuyuni from the south about midway between the mouths of the Yuruari and the Curumo. The mission "in Wenamu" may have been (as so often with these missions) near the junction of that river with the Cuyuni. A half century ago Mr. Schomburgk found an Accoway village at

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 104–107.

[2] Extracts, p. 368.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 324; Strickland, pp. 58, 59; or other mission-lists. Note, too, the projected Accoway village of p. 391, above.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 136.

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this point.[1] It will be remembered that in 1754 two missions were founded on the Cuyuni.[2] One was destroyed at once by the Caribs. The other may possibly have been here founded, or withdrawn to here.[3]

From the Cuyuni savannas to the upper Mazaruni the natural and traveled route was by the Wenamu, crossing from its head waters to those of the Caramang, or Camarang,[4] the largest of the western tributaries of the Mazaruni. It was by this route that later Mr. Schomburgk crossed from the Mazaruni to the Cuyuni, finding rude Indian ladders fixed in the sandstone terraces of the northern slope to make possible the passage.[5] The Camarang was, at the time with which we are dealing, an Accoway stronghold. In 1755 the Dutch colonist who stirred up the Carib chief against the Accoways told the former that the Accoways were plotting to kill certain Carib leaders and then to take flight "to Camoeran, above Mazaruni."[6] From the mouth of the Camarang an Indian path led

[1] See map in Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen* (Leipzig, 1847).

[2] See p. 391 above.

[3] Governor Storm's assertion that both the new missions of 1754 were *below* the creek Mejou ought not, perhaps, to be pressed too literally; and, although his statement as to the distance of Spanish dwellings from the Dutch post, if accurate, suggests a lower site for the mission not destroyed in that year, the fact that neither Dutch nor Spanish records report a later Carib foray in this quarter, coupled with the fact that the Spanish expedition sent down the Cuyuni in 1758 found clearly no mission on that river, throws much doubt on the whole matter. The fact that the Capuchin Fathers, in their affidavits of 1770 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 281–288), ascribe to the Caribs the destruction of only seven villages, points to the possible persistence for a time of one of the two missions of 1754; for they must have had in thought Tupuqueu, Cunuri, Miamo, Curumo, Mutanambo, Avechica, and that known to have been destroyed in 1754. Or do they here omit Miamo, which survived?

[4] Mr. Schomburgk called it "Carimani, or Carimang" (see Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen*, ii, pp. 343–348). On the older Spanish maps of Cruz Cano and Surville it appears as "Camaran," or "Camarou." The geologists of the colouy, Brown and Sawkins, call it "Camarang."

[5] At the date of Mr. Schomburgk's visit both the Caramang and the Wenamu were occupied by Accoways, though the uppermost village in each was of Arekunas.

[6] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 107.

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over the mountains, avoiding the circuit caused by the great bend of the Mazaruni, and, following on the further slope the course of the Carubung, another branch of that river, reached the Mazaruni at a point much lower down.[1] The name Carubung suspiciously resembles the "Queribura up in Mazaruni" of the bylier's story; and suspicion gathers strength when one finds the first Englishman who visited this place, in 1831, reporting that "no white man had ever been seen there before, except, twenty years ago, three Spanish padres, who had lived for a month or two at the mouth of the creek, and persuaded many Indians to accompany them to the missions of the Orooноco."[2]

But, in locating "Queribura," one has to reckon also with the testimony of the Mazaruni colonist, Couvreur. Just where he dwelt "up in Mazaruni," can not be learned;[3] but that any colonist in this river ever dwelt remote from the general body of plantations near its mouth is nowhere intimated in the papers sent by the colony to Holland; and it is peculiarly improbable in 1756, when for a year the Accoways had been holding in such terror the planters of Mazaruni. And, if we may assume that Couvreur's place was, at most, not far above the lowest falls of the Mazaruni, the "two or three days' journey above his plantation" could hardly carry one farther than the mouth of the Puruni.[4] More definite is the "about twelve or at most fifteen hours of travel" by which the governor interprets Couvreur's phrase. The Dutch "hour of travel" (*uur gaans*), like the German *Wegstunde*, is a measure,

[1] Brown and Sawkins, *Geology of British Guiana*, pp. 50, 261; cf. also the great colonial map (atlas of the Commission, map 49).

[2] Hilhouse, as reported by Capt. J. E. Alexander, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1832, p. 69.

[3] For discussion of this, see in the section on the Mazaruni, pp. 349–351 above.

[4] "With Indians the longest day's journey is four [Dutch] miles," wrote Governor Storm van 's Gravesande in 1769. (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 167.)

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of time, but of distance, and what Storm understood by it ut beyond all question by the scale of his own map of the ony,[1] which is in "hours of travel." By a glance at this le it will be seen that the distance from the old fort Kykoal to the new fort on Flag Island, a stretch which Storm ew so well, concides almost exactly with the "fifteen hours travel" which is his extreme estimate of the distance to uvreur's strangers. This distance also, measured up the zaruni, on any modern map, from the point where the rap- begin, falls somewhat short of the mouth of the Puruni, l reaches less than halfway to the mouth of the Carubung. w, the mouth of the Puruni, the main northern branch of the zaruni, and an important route toward the Cuyuni and coast, was a strategic point of importance for the purposes Spanish missionaries had at heart. And the falls over ich the Mazaruni rushes just at the confluence of the Puruni ar the Indian name of *Curabiri*.[2] This is, of all the Indian mes shown in the region of this river by the maps, that ich is nearest in sound to Queribura.

To the precise whereabouts of the third "fort" named by the inda bylier—that "up in Siparuni at Mawakken"—I have nd no clew. Remote as was the Siparuni from the Capuin missions of the Cuyuni, there can be no question of the ntity of that stream; and the bylier, whose own post of inda was close by the spot where it united with the Esseibo, should be especially trustworthy as to this nearest ort." It is perhaps safe to conjecture that, if actual, it was newhere on the upper reaches of that river, whose southeastrd direction might make it a link in the Spanish route to the puruni savannas, and in that cordon of occupation in the

[1] Atlas of the Commission, map 60.

[2] Spelt *Coorabeery* by Hilhouse, who prefers to give vowels their English sound.

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rear of the Dutch, which, as we have seen, was an object of Spanish and Portuguese policy.

The more violent Spanish aggression of 1758 which destroyed the Dutch post on the Cuyuni has been discussed in connection with the Dutch occupation of that river.[1] The Spaniards left no garrison to hold the captured site; and, though the Capuchins made an effort to have the whole upper Cuyuni closed against the enemy by "establishing a village, if not exclusively of Spaniards, at least of chosen Indians, with a garrison of ten soldiers," "at the mouth of the Curumo or on one of the islands in the Cuyuni,"[2] nothing seems then to have come of it.

Notwithstanding the much passing up and down the Cuyuni, by the Spaniards and their Indian allies, which gave umbrage to the Dutch, nothing is heard of permanent sojourn there; and it was not till 1765 (August 13) that Governor Storm van 's Gravesande reported to the Company, on the testimony of a half-breed sent up to the mission as a spy, that "preparations are being made to establish a new mission between Cuyuni and Mazaruni"—"that is," he adds, "in the middle of our land."[3] And early in 1766 (January 18)[4] he again complained that, according to the Spanish Indians, "there is a desire to establish new missions in and beyond Cuyuni."[5] He hoped this would be checked by the Dutch post, then about to be established; and, in point of fact, one hears complaint, in his letters of the next two years, of no new mission, but

[1] See pp. 322–334, above.

[2] See Father Benito de la Garriga's letter of June 9, 1758 (Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 235–237, etc.), and compare that addressed to him by another Capuchin on December 12 of that year (Strickland, *Documents*, pp. 6, 7).

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 136.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 138; cf. Extracts, p. 418.

[5] Not "in Cuyuni and *above* Cuyuni," as translated in the Blue Book. The Dutch is: "*dat men nieuwe missien in Cajoeny en over Cajoeny wil aenleggen.*"

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only of that which he variously describes as "the mission close to the river" Cuyuni,[1] as "about two or three hours' distance from the banks of the Cuyuni, in a creek flowing into that river,"[2] or as "situated about four hours from Cuyuni on the west,"[3] but which can hardly be any other than that known to Spanish sources as Cavallapi—a village of Accoways, on the Yuruari, founded in 1761 and ruined in 1770 by the desertion of its Indians.[4] Yet by 1769 (February 21) the governor was obliged to write that the Caribs of the Cuyuni had reported "that the Spaniards have established a mission not far above the post in that river and yet another a little higher up in a creek flowing into the Cuyuni, both of which have been strongly manned."[5]

Where may have lain the two sites thus described, I can not so much as conjecture. There is in the published Spanish records, secular or ecclesiastical, no mention of foundations of this date which by any possibility can be identified with these; and the data given by the Dutch governor are too vague to tempt a guess. I may, however, point out, as Father Strickland (who alone has had access to all the Capuchin documents, and who is no exponent of Spanish claims) has already done, that "the location of some of the missions was changed several times for various reasons, and many missions were started which were never definitely established;"[6] and I may add that the relations of the Capuchins with the Spanish

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 143.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 159, 160; Extracts, pp. 451, 452.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 136.

[4] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," p. 118; "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 289, 290; Venezuelan "Documents," II, pp. 144, 145, 149, 209-214, 265; Strickland, "Documents and Maps," p. 22; and especially the Capuchin map of 1771 (reproduced in the Atlas of the Commission as map 73), with the note on its margin.

[5] Extracts, pp. 450, 451.

[6] Strickland, "Documents and Maps," p. xvii.

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governor were not such as to make it strange if they failed to report all their enterprises to the civic authorities.[1] If it seem idle to credit at all such Dutch and Indian rumors as to their activity, it should be remembered that even Mr. Schomburgk, writing after the completion of all his researches in this region, was of the belief that "the missions of the Catalonian Capuchins extended formerly from the eastern bank of the Caroni as far as the banks of the Imataca, the Curuma, and the Cuyuni."[2] Whether or no they again planted missions on or near the Cuyuni, the Spaniards so disquieted the Dutch post that before the end of this year, 1769, it was drawn nearer to the Essequibo.[3] With the year 1772 it ceased altogether its existence, perhaps because the missions gave no more reason for vigilance here. At least, Dutch interest in them was at an end. There is nothing more to be learned from the Dutch records as to Spanish occupation in the upper Cuyuni.

Of any occupation by Spaniards in the coast region between the Orinoco and the Moruca, save that involved in the Orinoco-Essequibo trade, which in the last half of the eighteenth century passed wholly into their hands,[4] the Dutch seem never to have known. They knew, indeed, of desultory raids not a few, like that which purged the Barima of settlers in 1768 or those which in 1769 and 1775 took momentary possession of the post on the Moruca; but, if these left behind them any attempt at occupation of the territory overrun, it found no record in the Dutch papers. The Spanish captain who, in 1775,

[1] See, e. g., Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 294–305, and the documents published by Father Strickland, *passim*. As to the right of initiative possessed and exercised by the friars, see note, p. 388, above.

[2] In his edition (1848) of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, p. 79, note.

[3] See pp. 339, 340, above.

[4] See pp. 210, 211, above.

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seized the Moruca post threatened the postholder that a Spanish guard should be placed at the Waini entrance of the island passage;[1] but there is no evidence that it was more than a threat. Of the Spanish raids and reconnoissances themselves it is not my task here to speak.

In the upper Essequibo the only Spanish aggression to be noted is that complained of by the Arinda bylier in 1756.[2] The allegation that the Spaniards had instigated the murder of the Dutch postholder at Arinda, which formed an item of the complaint to Spain in 1769, turned out later to be a canard.[3] Of other Spanish occupation in the disputed territory I have not learned from the Dutch records.

Spanish *claim*, of any formal, official sort, as to the boundary in Guiana, I have nowhere found in the diplomatic correspondence preserved in Dutch archives. As already pointed out, the Dutch remonstrances of 1759 and 1769, which alone from the Dutch side seem to have asked Spanish attention to the question, never received a formal answer.

Once or twice, in communications from the Spanish authorities of the Orinoco to the Dutch governors of Essequibo, a claim was implied or asserted—as when, in 1734, Don Carlos de Sucre wrote of his intent to expel the Swedes from the Barima;[4] or as when, in 1758, the Governor of Cumaná, in reply to the Dutch governor's demand for the restitution of the men seized with the Cuyuni post, answered that they had been found "on an island in the river called Cuyuni, which is, with its dependencies, a part of the domains of His Catholic Majesty."[5] Oftener

[1] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

[2] See pp. 394, 401, above.

[3] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 165.

[4] Extracts, pp. 258, 259.

[5] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1," pp. 103, 104. The phrase is, perhaps, intentionally equivocal.

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such claims came to the Dutch only through subordinates or by hearsay, like the rumors in 1769–70 of the Spanish claim to all west of the bank of Oene[1] (at the mouth of the Essequibo), or the claim of "the whole of Moruca," ascribed by the postholder to the Spanish captain who seized that post in 1775.[2] But among them I have found none (except it be the equivocal one of the Cumaná governor) which has the form of an official utterance, or which undertakes to state with definiteness the rightful course of a boundary.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE L. BURR.

NOTE.—I can not close this report, and with it my service of the Commission, without acknowledgment of my debt in its preparation, as in that of my earlier reports, to the custodians of the Library of Congress and of the library and archives of the Department of State, at Washington, to those of the Astor and Lenox libraries, at New York, and to those of the library and archives of the State of New York, at Albany, for full and free access to the treasures in their keeping. To Mr. Wilberforce Eames, the learned and acute librarian of the Lenox Library, I owe wise suggestion as well as ungrudging help.

[1] Extracts, pp. 467, 468, 495; Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," pp. 175, 176.

[2] Blue Book "Venezuela No. 3," p. 190.

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